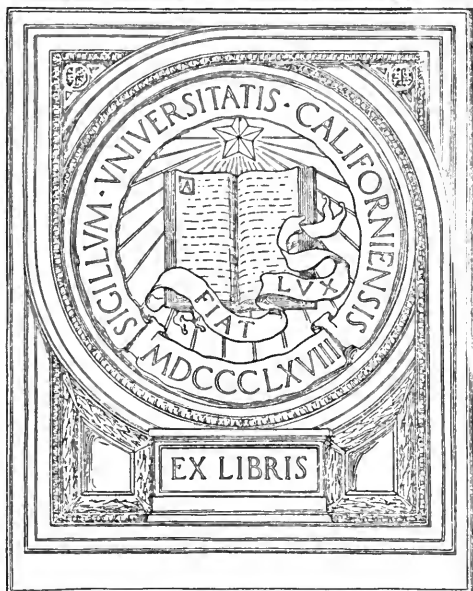


UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
AT LOS ANGELES



THE GIFT OF
MAY TREAT MORRISON
IN MEMORY OF
ALEXANDER F MORRISON







THE
HISTORY
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF NORTH AMERICA.

VOL. III.

THE
HISTORY
OF
THE UNITED STATES
OF
NORTH AMERICA,
FROM THE
PLANTATION OF THE BRITISH COLONIES
TILL
THEIR ASSUMPTION OF NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE.

By JAMES GRAHAME, LL. D.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. III.

SECOND EDITION, ENLARGED AND AMENDED.

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THE
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BOOK VIII.

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WHEN the first agitations of hope and fear that were engendered by the British Revolution had subsided, this great event proved least satisfactory in the very quarters in which its operation was the most beneficial. The church of England, which owed its preservation as a Protestant establishment to the revolt which it had countenanced against its own temporal head, received the boon with a sullen acquiescence in disagreeable necessity ; and continued, for many years, estranged more or less from a government, whose origin, however disguised by the theories of political sophists, practically confessed, or at least forcibly suggested to mankind, the legitimate control of popular will and reason over the most authoritative principles and the most venerable institutions of national policy. It was not from love of civil or religious liberty, but for the protection of their own special privileges and emoluments, that the English pre-

lates abetted the revolutionary movement ; for their deep desire was, that kings should reign by a *divine right*, which laymen were not entitled to scan, and of which the ecclesiastical expositors of the divine will were the sole, or, at least, the most competent, judges. The Scottish Covenanters, who were rescued by the Revolution from the extremity of barbarous oppression and political degradation, less rejoiced at the signal deliverance, than repined at the inadequate compensation they obtained ; and, thankless for a bare toleration, without triumphant ascendancy of those principles which heroic sacrifice and the glory of their martyred friends had so mightily endeared to them, they regarded the revolutionary government with anger and aversion, and even in some instances conspired with the partisans of their deposed oppressor to accomplish its overthrow. From the peculiar sources, however, of these domestic discontents there was derived a reasonable prospect of their progressive mitigation. The lapse of time, as it invested the remodelled monarchy of Britain with a semblance of antiquity, tended to abate the jealousy of the Tories and prelates, by veiling what they deemed its dangerous features from the grossness of the general gaze ; and the descendants of the Covenanters, even when they inherited the principles of their fathers, lost a portion of that enthusiastic zeal, which, like the ardor of maternal affection, must originate from a personal experience of trouble, anguish, and danger.

In no part of the British empire did the Revolution of 1688 produce more beneficial consequences than in the provinces of North America ; yet nowhere did the immediate fruits of that revolution excite greater or more general disgust. Some of these colonies had been previously reputed peculiarly loyal to the fallen dynasty ; others had always regarded it with apprehensive dislike ; some had endured but little, and others had endured a great deal, of molestation from its tyranny. Several of the provinces had suffered only the apprehension occasioned by a threatened abrogation of their privileges ; others had been actually deprived of them all. Virginia, though devoid of the safeguard of a charter, had been merely subjected to a tyrannical governor, without being deprived of her representative assembly. The New England States, though possessing char-

tered systems of liberty, had been deprived both of their charters and their assemblies. Various, however, as the sentiments consequently were, which the first tidings of the British Revolution excited in these several provinces, they were all pervaded by common feelings of disappointment and discontent, after a very short experience of the dominion of the new authorities that had arisen in the parent state. From the reasonableness of these feelings, and the relative prospects of the two countries, a mutual estrangement of regard was more likely to be increased than diminished by the lapse of time.

The insurrections, by which some of the provinces coöperated with the revolutionary proceedings in England, were provoked not by English, but by American grievances ; the purpose of the insurgents (except in Maryland) was to obtain the restoration of American liberty ; and the approbation, which King William at first bestowed very readily on every province and every party which took arms against the authority of his father-in-law, was interpreted by the colonists into a sanction of the objects to which their movements had been immediately directed. Considering their own interests associated with the cause of William, they expected from his triumph a willing and immediate restitution of every provincial privilege which had been unjustly withheld or tyrannically invaded by his predecessor. But their expectations were completely disappointed. The establishment of William's authority induced a manifest alteration of his regard for the promoters of popular insurrection ; the acquisition of power had no tendency to conciliate his patronage of claims for its limitation ; and the expediency of retaining those functionaries of the old government, who were willing to transfer the benefit of their official experience to the new, prompted him to engage the service and embrace the counsels of men who had signalized themselves by overthrowing liberal institutions and administering tyranny in North America. Not one of the aggrieved provinces received an entire redress of its wrongs ; nor did any of them succeed in procuring even a partial restoration of its violated liberties, without an arduous struggle against the opposition of the court. Connecticut and Rhode Island, which were enabled by the Revolution to resume the charters of which they had been

deprived, were compelled to defend them against the envy of the revolutionary government in the parent state, whose ineffectual hostility at once diminished her own influence, and endeared to the colonists a system of liberty exposed to continual peril and jeopardy, and only preserved by their own firmness and vigor against the encroachments of superior power. According to the dictates of liberal justice, Massachusetts was equally entitled to the restoration of her old charter ; and her claim was strengthened by the gallant stand which she had made in defence of those principles of liberty which the British Revolution professed to vindicate. But the technical formalities, which her virtuous inflexibility had compelled the oppressor of her liberties to employ, furnished a legal pretext for obstructing her claims, which King William and his ministers did not hesitate to embrace.

Though the English parliament, in its first revolutionary fervor, prepared a bill for restoring the old charter of Massachusetts, this act of national justice was defeated by the dexterity of the court ; and though a new charter was extorted from the king by the interest and importunity of the colonists, it withheld from the people some of the most valuable privileges which they enjoyed under their original constitution. New Hampshire, which earnestly petitioned to be annexed to Massachusetts, was erected into a separate jurisdiction, without obtaining a charter, — for the convenience of a wealthy merchant of London, who purchased the vexatious claims of Mason against the occupiers of the soil. New York had been deprived of its assembly and defrauded of its promised charter by James the Second. The restoration of the assembly was accomplished by the popular insurrection promoted by Leisler. But no charter was procured from the crown ; and Leisler, for an act importing rather folly than guilt, was condemned to the fate of a traitor by Dudley, who had been chased from New England for abetting the tyranny of King James, and whom William, nevertheless, appointed chief justice at New York. Though William was encouraged by his advisers to lay claim to every advantage, however unfairly acquired, which might be supposed legally to accrue to him as the successor of the British crown, he was far from acknowledging a corresponding

obligation to fulfil the engagements which had been tyrannically violated by his predecessors. Though a charter was promised to Virginia by Charles the Second, this promise obtained no more respect from the government which succeeded than from that which preceded the Revolution ; and though Lord Effingham had been guilty of such tyranny in Virginia that the people confidently expected his dismissal even from the justice of King James, he was retained in his office by the policy of William. The same expediency, however, which prolonged his dignity, forbade the exasperating measure of his return to Virginia, — where his personal presence was supplied by the lieutenancy of Francis Nicholson, another agent of King James, who, flying from the revolutionary commotion at New York, received welcome and patronage from the revolutionary sovereign of England.

By what arguments Lord Effingham was enabled to prevail over the complaints of the Virginians at the court of King William we have no means of ascertaining ; but the presumptive credit of his vindication of himself is impeached by the notorious fact, that he was permitted to stipulate with Nicholson that no legislative assembly should be convoked in Virginia, unless this measure were commanded by the most urgent and palpable necessity.¹ The promotion of Dudley and of Nicholson served to pave the way to a measure by which King William loaded his own administration with all the odium and jealousy that the government of his royal predecessors had excited. This was the appointment of Sir Edmund Andros, in the year 1692, to the office of supreme governor both of Virginia and Maryland. Andros, as the superior officer both of Nicholson and Dudley, had been appointed by King James to conduct his arbitrary system of government in New England and New York, and had excited the unanimous hatred of the people over whom he presided. Deposed, imprisoned, and impeached by the colonists of New England, he was acquitted by King William ; and, after a little prudential delay, was despatched to assume the government of Maryland. Here, from the oppression to which the Roman Catholics were doomed by the policy of Britain, he found himself once more

¹ Beverly. Burk.

the delegate of injustice and tyranny ; and, tempted, perhaps, by the distracted state of the province, he endeavoured to enrich himself by peculations that enlarged his own disgrace and dishonored his new master.¹ The temporary usurpation by King William of the rights of the proprietary of Pennsylvania, and the arbitrary proceedings of Fletcher, to whom he committed the presidency both of that colony and of New York, tended still farther to impeach the justice and diminish the popularity of the British government in the American provinces.

Yet many gratifying circumstances contributed at the time to countervail the sense and restrain the expression of the colonial discontents. The benefit of actual deliverance from oppression and danger was universally acknowledged ; and the general effect in America of the British Revolution was an increased attachment to liberty, and a jealousy, rather prudent and vigilant than bitter or indignant, of the designs and policy of the parent state.

In Virginia, however, a good deal of address and conciliation was necessary to reduce the prevailing sentiments of disaffection to this moderate strain. The continuance of Lord Effingham in office, and the appointment of another instrument of King James's tyranny to act as the lieutenant of this nobleman, created so much disgust and irritation, that Nicholson, on his arrival in the province [1690], clearly perceived that his commission was insufficient to administer effectual support to his authority, and that the colonists were actually ripe for revolt. Nicholson, who now resumed in America a career which was to procure him, for many years, a conspicuous place in its history, though naturally headstrong, restless, and impetuous, was yet endowed with considerable shrewdness and address ; devoured by vanity and immoderate ambition, he was destitute of steady principle and comprehensive wisdom. With skilful and assiduous exertions, he strove to soothe and conciliate the minds of the Virginians, who, remembering the haughty and sullen austerity that characterized the deportment of his pre-

¹ Oldmixon. Formerly, the first edition of Oldmixon's work is referred to, unless when the second is expressly specified. Now, and hereafter, reference is made to the second edition alone. The two publications differ not a little in their contents from each other.

decessors, Culpepper and Effingham, were the more captivated by the obliging and affable demeanour of Nicholson, from its dissimilarity to the manners which they were accustomed to associate with tyranny. In order to extend the influence of his courtesy, as well as to ascertain, without expressly demanding, the sentiments of the planters on the important point of a representative assembly, he made a tour through the several counties of the province ; lavished attentions and commendations on the people and all their establishments ; solicited their opinions with regard to local improvements ; and seemed cordially to embrace the views and suggestions which they imparted. To promote the gayety and amusement of the colonists, and divert their leisure hours and stirring spirits from political debate and inquiry, he instituted public games, and distributed prizes to those who excelled in riding, running, shooting, wrestling, and backsword.

Finding that the erection of a college was a favorite object of the planters, he zealously promoted their wish, and gained a great accession of popularity by procuring and delivering to them the royal donative which contributed to the establishment of William and Mary College.¹ But amidst all the respect and good-will which his elaborate civility and politic benevolence attracted, he discerned a deep-seated and vigilant jealousy ; and was made sensible, by many unequivocal symptoms, that it would be impossible for him to gain the general confidence or preserve the public tranquillity, without restoring to the colonists their representative assembly ; and thereupon, with equal prudence and promptitude, he scrupled not to disappoint the wish of Lord Effingham, and to allay the prevalent solicitude, by a regular convocation of assemblies. Before the close of his first presidency, which lasted only two years, his efforts to compose the dangerous ferments by which Virginia

¹ The plan of the college buildings was the composition of Sir Christopher Wren. Wynne. "There was a commencement at William and Mary College in the year 1700, at which there was a great concourse of people ; several planters came thither in their coaches, and several in sloops from New York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland ; it being a new thing in America to hear graduates perform their academical exercises. The Indians themselves had the curiosity to come to Williamsburg on this occasion ; and the whole country rejoiced as if they had some relish of learning."—Oldmixon. Fifty-eight years before, a similar ceremonial was performed in the younger province of Massachusetts.

was agitated at the period of his arrival [1691] were crowned with a success equally creditable to his own dexterity and to the moderation and placability of the people. His popularity, however, was latterly somewhat impaired by a sudden change of sentiment which he displayed in relation to a matter which excited much interest in the colony. The richer class of planters had for some time entertained the design of establishing manufactures in Virginia; and this project was eagerly espoused by the leading politicians of the province, who regarded it as a measure calculated to diminish the dependence of their country on the parent state. To this end, it was necessary that the system of straggling inhabitation that prevailed in the colony should be abandoned, and the people induced to live together in villages or towns. After an obstinate struggle with the current of popular inclination in this respect, the promoters of the design succeeded in obtaining from the assembly what was termed an *Act of Cohabitation*, proposing encouragements to the formation of towns and the introduction of manufactures; and Nicholson endeared himself not a little to a powerful party by zealously abetting the scheme and affirming the act. A present of three hundred pounds was voted to him shortly after by the assembly, who entreated him to accept it as a testimony of the deep sense they entertained of his virtues and obliging demeanour.¹ But no sooner did he learn that the measure which he had thus supported was disagreeable to the king, than he hastened as zealously to retract his declarations in its favor; with ineffectual and ungracious importunity, he labored to persuade the assembly to rescind its enactment; and impaired his own credit by demonstrating to the people that his interest in their prosperity would ever be subordinate to his obsequious devotion to the pleasure of the crown and the policy of the parent state.²

The continuance of Lord Effingham in the office of governor of Virginia, which at one time was deeply resented by the

¹ King William's instructions about this time to the American governors having strictly prohibited their acceptance of donatives, an address was presented to him by the Virginian assembly, beseeching that Nicholson might have leave to accept their present; and the royal permission was accordingly granted. Beverley.

² Oldmixon. Burk.

colonists, had latterly been rendered a matter of indifference to them by the mild administration of Nicholson ; and when the event of that nobleman's dismissal at length occurred [1692], it was rendered even unwelcome to Virginia by the concomitant intelligence that the vacant dignity was conferred on Sir Edmund Andros. After a short stay in Maryland, of which also he was appointed governor, and where he appears to have again indulged his wonted severity and rapacity, Andros, repairing to Virginia [1692], resumed the government of a people who regarded him with alarm and dislike, and were prepared to watch his conduct with the most jealous attention. Nicholson straightway repaired to Maryland, where, in the station of lieutenant-governor, he continued for six years ; during which he is said to have displayed a spirit more eager and intemperate than stern or illiberal, and to have promoted measures that happily conduced to the encouragement of industry and the advancement of religion.¹

Whether in consequence of information communicated by Nicholson, or from a sagacious discernment and appreciation of his own altered interests and circumstances, Andros now evinced a remarkable change of deportment ; and during his presidency in Virginia, he extorted the public approbation both of the liberality of his sentiments and the mildness of his manners. Prompt, judicious, and methodical, he introduced into all the offices and institutions of government improvements that contributed to the simplification and despatch of public business. He promoted the cultivation of cotton in the province ; and

¹ A letter written to the Royal Society of London by an intelligent Englishman, who visited Maryland during the administration of Nicholson, contains the following statements : — " The church of England is now pretty well established. Churches are built ; and there is an annual stipend allowed to every minister by a perpetual law ; which is more or less, according to the number of taxables in each parish. Every Christian male sixteen years old, and negroes, male and female, above that age, pay forty pounds of tobacco to the minister ; and this makes their revenues, one with another, about two thousand pounds of tobacco, or one hundred pounds sterling, a year. It has been the unhappiness of this country, that they had no Protestant ministers, hardly, among them, till the time of Governor Nicholson, who has been a great promoter and encourager of the clergy." " Now, by Colonel Nicholson's protection, the orthodox churches are crowded as full as they can hold. The people grow sensible of the Romish superstition and the enthusiasm of the Quakers. Indeed, the Quakers struggle hard to maintain their footing ; and their teachers (especially of the female sex, who are the most zealous) are very free of their reflections and scandal against the orthodox divines and professors." Oldmixon.

though he succeeded, by the auxiliary influence of the merchants of London who traded with Virginia, and the concurrent habits and inclinations of a majority of the colonists, in persuading the assembly to suspend the *Act of Cohabitation*, he was yet celebrated for his active patronage of every other feasible project for the introduction and domestication of manufactures. Devoid of Nicholson's inordinate vanity and ambition, and greatly his superior in talent and understanding, Andros contented himself with endeavouring to redeem his public character, and associate his administration with provincial improvement and prosperity,—without studying to extend his influence, or greedily courting popularity by suppleness and intrigue. His useful labors were interrupted by the revocation of his commission after an endurance of six years; when Nicholson, promoted to the vacant dignity, returned once more to preside in Virginia. [1698.] In the government of Maryland, Nicholson was succeeded first by Colonel Blackiston, and afterwards [1703] by Colonel Seymour, — whose administrations obtained the praise of liberal and honorable policy, and the recompense of general satisfaction and esteem.¹

The advancement of Nicholson to a station of greater dignity than he had ever before enjoyed served rather to inflame than to gratify his thirst for distinction. Elevated to the supreme command of the most ancient and wealthy province of the British empire in America, he now suffered himself to be transported, by the eagerness of his ambition, beyond the modesty of reasonable hope and the safeguard of politic demeanour. The project of a general government, embracing all the colonies, which had been devised by James the Second, but rendered abortive by the Revolution, was now revived by this enterprising politician, who beheld in it at once the most effectual means of securing the absolute authority of the parent state, and the fairest promise of his own ascent to the pinnacle of provincial greatness. By his merit in promoting an object so agreeable to the English court, added to his boasted influence and experience in America, he hoped to entitle himself to claim the appointment of governor-general; and this ambitious vision seems to have

¹ Oldmixon. Beverly. Burk.

mainly influenced his language and actions during his second presidency in Virginia. One of the first transactions in which he engaged convinced him very disagreeably that he had underrated the resistance which the colonists might be expected to oppose to such designs, and that, in laboring to accomplish them, he had no aid to expect either from his own personal influence or the supposed tractability of the people. Three years before this period, King William had concerted a plan for the general defence of the American settlements against the French forces in Canada and their Indian allies ; in conformity with which, every British colony was required to furnish a pecuniary contingent proportioned to the amount of its population,¹ — to be administered according to the directions of the king. This plan was submitted to all the provincial legislatures, and disregarded or rejected by every one of them ; the colonies most exposed to attack being desirous of employing their forces in the manner most agreeable to their own judgment and immediate exigencies, and those which were more remote from the point of danger objecting to participate in the expense.

The Quaker assembly of Pennsylvania, from which the most inflexible opposition might naturally have been expected, was the only one which finally consented to aid, by a subscription, the military operations in New York, which preceded the peace of Ryswick.² Governor Nicholson clearly perceived the utility of King William's plan as a preparative of the ulterior design of a general government of the colonies ; and though peace was now established, he determined to signalize his recent promotion by reviving the royal project and retrieving its failure. He ventured accordingly to introduce this unwelcome proposition to the assembly of Virginia, and employed all the resources of his address and ingenuity to procure its adoption. He affirmed that a fort on the western frontier of New York was essential to the security of Virginia ; and insisted that the legislature of this province was consequently engaged, by every consideration of prudence, equity, and generosity, to contribute to its erection and support. But his arguments, though backed by all the aid they could derive from reference to the wish

¹ See Book V., Chap. II., *ante*.

² See Book VII., Chap. II., *ante*.

and suggestion of the king, proved totally unavailing ; and the proposition experienced an unqualified rejection from the assembly. Nicholson, astonished and provoked at this discomfiture, hastened to transmit to the king a report of the affair, in which he strongly censured the refractory spirit of the Virginians, and urged the propriety of compelling them yet to acknowledge their duty and consult their true interests. [1698.] William was so far moved by this representation, as to recommend to the provincial assembly a more deliberate consideration of the governor's proposition ; and he even condescended to repeat the arguments which Nicholson had already unsuccessfully employed. But these reasons gained no additional currency from the stamp of royal sanction. The king's project encountered again the most determined opposition, and was a second time rejected ; while his argument elicited from the assembly only a firm, but respectful, remonstrance, in which they declared their conviction, " that neither the forts then in being, nor any other that might be built in the province of New York, could in the slightest degree avail to the defence and security of Virginia ; for that either the French or the Northern Indians might invade this colony, and yet not approach within a hundred miles of any of those forts."

Nicholson had relied with undoubting assurance on the success of this attempt ; and the issue of it, which disconcerted his aspiring hopes, destroyed his popularity, and discredited the policy of his counsels by lowering the dignity of the king, inspired him with the most vindictive feelings of rage and mortification. Henceforward, he took no pains to conceal his antipathy to the institution of representative assemblies, and to the democratical frame of the provincial governments. He represented to the British ministers that the dissent of the Virginian assembly from his Majesty's desire and opinion proceeded entirely from a spirit of rebellion, and a propensity to national independence and republican government ;¹ — charges, which, as they coincided with the apprehensions of the parent state, were most likely to provoke her jealousy and malevolence towards the colony. Blending a regard to policy with the gratification of his resentment, and hoping to impress the credulous with a

¹ See Note XIV., Vol. II., *ante*.

high opinion of his munificence and public spirit, he protested that neither the king nor New York should be disappointed, for that he himself would rather furnish the quota due by Virginia from his own private estate. He repaired soon after to New York, where he labored to regain the reputation which he had heretofore forfeited with its citizens, by passionate declamations on his efforts to serve them, and on the sordid and disobliging spirit with which the Virginians obstructed his purpose ; and he succeeded for a while in buying golden opinions in this quarter by an impudent deceit, whereby he pretended to grant his own bills of exchange for the sum that had been ineffectually solicited from the Virginian assembly.

Notwithstanding his resentment against the people, and his hostility to the institutions over which he continued for some years longer to preside, he found his power insufficient for any open violation of public rights ; and was obliged to content himself with conveying to the English government secret counsels and complaints, which, under pretence of guarding the interest and honor of the parent state, aimed at the destruction of every liberal and popular institution in Virginia. He cooperated with his friend, Colonel Quarry, another functionary of the crown in North America, in the composition of the *Memorials* which were presented in Quarry's name to the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations in England. These *Memorials* represented the colonists of America, and particularly the Virginians, as deeply imbued with republican principles ; strongly counselled immediate recourse to the most rigorous measures for preserving the ascendancy of the royal prerogative ; and especially suggested "*that all the English colonies of North America be reduced under one government and one viceroy, and that a standing army be there kept on foot to subdue the enemies of royal authority.*" The success of his exertions corresponded better with his vindictive sentiments than with his ambitious designs ; for, though he was able to excite mutual distrust and jealousy between the parent state and the colony, he could not succeed in persuading the English ministers to embrace the energetic measures which he recommended. The vehemence of his language, perhaps, led them to doubt the soundness and prudence of his views. His career in America was suspended in

the year 1704, by his recall from Virginia ;¹ but he afterwards resumed it, in the conduct of various military expeditions, and in a short occupation of the government of Carolina.

In New York, where liberal institutions had enjoyed but a brief existence, and where the boundaries of royal authority and popular rights were not defined by a charter, King William showed as little respect for the wishes of the people, in the selection of his public officers, as he had done in relation to Virginia. He conferred the highest judicial office at New York on Dudley, a victim of the revolution in New England ; and bestowed the government of the province on Fletcher, whose intemperate efforts to stretch the royal prerogative proved, however, more beneficial than hurtful to public spirit and the interests of freedom. But in Massachusetts, where the people regarded liberty as their undoubted birthright, and, next to religion, their peculiar glory, and where the most formidable approaches of tyranny had ever been encountered with heroic fortitude and inflexible opposition, the king and his ministers were sensible that greater deference was due to public opinion, and that a conciliating policy was necessary to mitigate the discontent excited by the innovations in the frame of the provincial constitution. Though some of the obnoxious officers of James were countenanced and retained by William, not one of them had yet been employed in New England ; and the first royal governor of Massachusetts after the Revolution, as we have seen, owed his appointment by the king to the previous favor and express recommendation of the colonists and their agents. This politic condescension was in a great degree successful ; though, from unforeseen and unhappy circumstances, the administration of Sir William Phips did not produce all the satisfactory consequences that were expected to ensue from it ; and at its close, and for some time after, so much discontent and irritation prevailed in the province, as forcibly to inculcate on the king and his ministers the utmost prudence and moderation in the exercise of the royal prerogative. It was never more wisely exercised by them, than in the subsequent appointment of Richard, Earl of Bellamont, to the government of

¹ Beverly. Oldmixon. Quarry's *Memorial*, in the British Museum.

Massachusetts and New Hampshire ; to which was added the government of New York, where some remedy was urgently required for the abuses that had signalized Fletcher's administration. The conduct of Lord Bellamont at New York has already engaged our attention.

Lord Bellamont was the first and the only British nobleman who ever exercised the functions of governor in New England ; and even in this region of republican usages and Puritanic sentiments, his rank enhanced the reverence which his merit inspired. Endowed with sound sense and judgment, a liberal and magnanimous disposition, a calm, yet resolute temper, — grave, incorrupt, religious, open, and sincere, — he embellished these estimable qualities by an address replete with courtesy and benignity. [1699.] On his arrival at Boston, he found that his reputation had preceded him ; and he experienced the most gratifying demonstrations of welcome and esteem from all classes of the inhabitants, who assembled to greet his approach in throngs so numerous and so uniformly respectable in aspect, that he was struck with surprise at the unexpected wealth and population of the province, — and, doubtless, touched with a generous pleasure at the unexampled display of extended happiness and civility. His popularity was not confined to the immediate scene of his administration ; the inhabitants of Connecticut, esteeming the appointment of such a man a favorable indication of the policy of the parent state, expressed in a congratulatory address their sympathy with the gratification of their neighbours in Massachusetts. The mutual satisfaction of Lord Bellamont and his people was confirmed by a farther acquaintance with each other. Regarding them collectively with respect,¹ and treating them individually and invariably with affability and benevolence, he commanded esteem and was judged with candor. They forgave, or rather, perhaps, they did not feel it necessary to forgive, his attachment to the church of England ; and while the desire of ingratiating himself with the people could not induce him to disguise this predilection, the force of it could

¹ "A speech of his to his lady, when their table was filled with the representatives from the country towns, is yet remembered : — *Dame, we should treat these gentlemen well ; they give us our bread.*" Hutchinson.

not prevent his discerning and acknowledging the worth of those provincial institutions of which the extraordinary piety and virtue of the people of New England was either the cause or the effect. Though he paid his Sunday devotions in an Episcopal chapel, he attended the weekly lectures of the Congregational church at Boston;¹ and professed the highest regard and esteem for the Congregational preachers. Hutchinson, a ruler and historian of this province, whose own unpopularity has rendered him extremely skeptical with regard to the merit of a popular governor, ascribes the success of Lord Bellamont to his *avoiding offence to particular persons, and disputes with the assembly; and his general conformity to the cast or prevailing disposition of the people*. Certain it is, that, whatever was the source of Lord Bellamont's influence, he obtained from the provincial assembly a larger remuneration of his services than was ever bestowed on any of his predecessors or successors in the administration of royal prerogative. During his residence in the province, which lasted only fourteen months, he received from the General Court grants amounting to £2,500 of the provincial money, or £1,875 sterling. The appointment of this excellent person would reflect more honor on King William and his ministers, if it were not evident, from their correspondence with him, that they were more desirous to render his previous reputation instrumental to the credit of royal authority, than to secure to the colonists

¹ The General Court always adjourned its sitting to attend the lecture. This strictness of religious observance, however, though generally, was not universally, prevalent in Boston. Among those who were estranged from it was one Bullivant, an apothecary, who had been a justice of the peace under Andros. "Lord Bellamont, going from the lecture to his house, with a great crowd round him, passed by Bullivant standing at his shop-door loitering: *Doctor*, says his Lordship with an audible voice, *you have lost a precious sermon to-day*. Bullivant whispered to one of his companions who stood by him, *If I could have got as much by being there as his Lordship, I would have been there too*." Hutchinson.

The least pleasing trait in the demeanour of Lord Bellamont is one which reproaches the prevalent taste and language of the contemporary partisans of the British Revolution. In his speeches to the assembly, he extolled the character and achievements of King William in a strain of the most exaggerated and almost impious commendation; and in his unsparing, though juster, censure of the princes of the House of Stuart, he loaded their real or supposed religious faith with all the blame of their corrupt or careless policy. In his last speech to the Massachusetts assembly, he declared that "the parting with Canada to the French, and the Eastern country called Acadia or Nova Scotia, with the noble fishery on that coast, were most execrable treacheries to England, and intended, without doubt, to serve the ends of popery." *Ibid*.

the benefit of his virtues. Infected, themselves, by the reports of Nicholson and Quarry, with distrust and jealousy of the Americans, they endeavoured to impart these sentiments to Lord Bellamont; and, assuring him that the people were notoriously disaffected to the parent state, and inclined to mutiny and independence, urged him to watch and curb the symptoms of this dangerous spirit.¹

His unexpected death prevented him from receiving the communication of these ignoble suspicions and pernicious counsels, which were repugnant alike to the dignity of his disposition and the tenor of his experience. Continuing to treat the colonists with merited confidence and unaffected respect, he pursued the policy most honorable and advantageous to them, to himself, and to the parent state. While he demonstrated a generous confidence, he succeeded in inspiring it; of which a remarkable instance has been preserved in the annals of New Hampshire. He had recommended to the assembly of this province the execution of a public work, of which the expense appeared to them disproportioned to the advantage that would accrue from it, and to the pecuniary circumstances of the people. They submitted this objection to his consideration; but declared, at the same time, that, if he would acquaint himself a little farther with their actual condition and resources, they would readily submit to any burden that he should reckon conducive to their advantage and compatible with their ability. The annals of this province, for several years, consist of little else than a record, no longer interesting, of the disputes and litigations between the successors of Mason and the colonists who had improved the soil by their own industry and defended it by their valor.

During the administration of Lord Bellamont, the only circumstances that occurred to disquiet the inhabitants of Massachusetts were the territorial encroachments of the French. Louis the Fourteenth had already projected, and even commenced, the conduct of that ambitious scheme of policy, which was afterwards pursued by France with so much steadiness and address, for the aggrandizement of her colonial empire.

¹ See Note XIV., Vol. II., *ante*.

Laying claim to the vast territory of Louisiana, the French monarch despatched two vessels, with a troop of adventurers, for the purpose of establishing a colony there, in the year 1698. King William, convinced of the preferable claim of the English to Louisiana, endeavoured to anticipate the project of Louis by hastily assembling a force composed of French Protestant exiles, who sailed from London with the intention of forming a settlement on the banks of the Mississippi. But this emulous attempt was rendered abortive by the vigor and celerity of the French, who first assumed possession of the country, and erected forts at well selected spots for defending their occupation. The grand project of the French government was to open a communication from the mouth of the Mississippi to the colony of Canada, and so to hem and environ the colonies of the English as to enable the subjects of France to engross the whole of the Indian trade. This enterprising design, however, was not immediately disclosed to the English colonists by the first insignificant link in so great a chain of operations; and their present uneasiness was occasioned by an act of resolute usurpation committed by their rivals in a quarter very remote from Louisiana.

Almost immediately after the peace of Ryswick, the French openly avowed the intention of restraining the English from occupying any part of the country comprehended within the Massachusetts charter to the eastward of Kennebec, and of engrossing to themselves the sole possession of the fishery on the relative coast.¹ It was understood by the English court, that by the treaty of Ryswick all the country westward of St. Croix was recognized as the property of England, from being included within the chartered designation of the province of

¹ The French appear to have been more jealous of the advantage derived by the English from the American fishery, than judicious in their exertions to render it advantageous to themselves. From the letters of Charlevoix, it appears, that the fisheries on the coasts, whether of the English or the French settlements, were beneficial to the English alone, and generally proved ruinous to the French who engaged in them. The resident English colonists, themselves undertaking the fishery, ascertained the proper seasons and stations for fishing with advantage, and wasted no time on the sea which they could profitably employ on shore. The French colonists preferred to devote themselves to the fur trade (which was one cause of their more extended connection with the Indians), and left the fishery to be conducted unskillfully and expensively by fishing-vessels despatched annually from France to the American coast.

Massachusetts ; and an exact adjustment of all questionable limits was left to be subsequently accomplished by commissioners, whose appointment never took place. In opposition to the understanding and the rights of the English court, Villebon, the governor of a French settlement on St. John's River, gave notice to the government of Massachusetts that he was commanded by the king of France to take possession of and defend the whole country as far as Kennebec, and that English vessels attempting to fish on the coast would forthwith be seized ; and in concert with this policy, the Norridgewock Indians, a tribe allied to the French, and implicitly devoted to a French priest whom they accepted for their pastor, began to establish a fixed settlement and erected a church on the banks of Kennebec River. Lord Bellamont communicated information of these transactions to the English court, by which they were so negligently considered and so languidly resented, that, had it not been for the war which more interesting disputes soon after enkindled between England and France, the encroachments of the French (who were actively supported by their king) would in all probability have proved entirely successful. The administration of Lord Bellamont was terminated by his death at New York in the beginning of the year 1701.¹

The wise and liberal policy of King William towards New York and New England was exhausted by the appointment of Lord Bellamont ; and the vacated dignities of this nobleman were now conferred on successors whom we might almost suppose to have been selected for the express purpose of counteracting the impressions produced by his virtue and reputation. The command of New York and New Jersey, as we have already seen, was intrusted to Lord Cornbury, — one of the most odious and contemptible of mankind ; and the government of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, which Lord Cornbury had also unsuccessfully aspired to engross, was committed to a man whose previous history tended to reawaken the most irritating recollections of regal injustice and usurpation. Joseph Dudley was originally destined by his friends to the office of a minister of religion in his native country of Massachusetts ; but

¹ Charlevoix, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*. Hutchinson. Belknap. Trumbull. Anderson's *History of Commerce*. Holmes.

his taste did not correspond with his education ; and, declining to assume a function, which, in New England, was divested of all temporal pomp and splendor, he applied a vigorous understanding, and a genius more comprehensive than elevated, to civil and political pursuits. It is difficult to form a satisfactory estimate of the character of an individual, however illustrated by conspicuous station and vicissitudes of fortune, of whom it has been justly remarked, that few men were ever pursued by their enemies with fiercer virulence, or supported by their friends with fonder zeal. He extorted even from his opponents the praise of indefatigable application, sagacity, and ability, in the conduct of public affairs ; and endeared himself to his partisans by the charm of agreeable manners, and the genuine grace of as many virtues as could consist with an overweening desire of power and distinction.

At that interesting period when Charles the Second made his final attempt to subvert the liberties of Massachusetts, Dudley had attained a consideration in the eyes of his countrymen that recommended him to the arduous and delicate office of envoy, to represent the province and defend its interests at the English court. Here his native thirst for grandeur and authority was inflamed by the dazzling display of regal and aristocratic state ; and despairing of the cause of his country, which had been intrusted to him, he was seduced into a partial desertion of it. His acceptance of the temporary commission of government, which was tendered to him by King James, completely extinguished his popularity, notwithstanding the moderate strain of his administration, and the liberal measures which he recommended to the king ; and his subsequent association with the tyranny of Andros, in whose grand council he occupied a place, not only loaded him with additional obloquy and aversion, but entailed, as we have already seen, the shipwreck of his political fortunes. Driven from his office by the revolutionary explosion in Massachusetts, and conveyed a prisoner to England, he was not only absolved from blame, or at least screened from punishment, by King William, but, through the interest of powerful connections at court, was appointed to the office of chief-justice of New York, — where he increased the odium that already attached to him, by presiding on the trial and pronounc-

ing the condemnation of Leisler, who had given the first impulse to the revolution in this province. But this contracted sphere was very ill suited to his aspiring character, and equally uncongenial to that patriotic attachment with which his ambition, though the preponderating sentiment, was inseparably blended. Returning to England, he obtained, by the interest of his friends, a seat in the House of Commons, and the post of lieutenant-governor of the Isle of Wight. Yet even this elevation, though more exalted than any promotion that was attainable in America, could not divert his wishes from their original determination, or reconcile him to the condition of an exile. To all his countrymen whom he met with, from time to time, in England, he expressed a longing desire to end his days and obtain a grave in the land of his nativity ; and all the interest which he possessed at court was assiduously exerted to procure his restoration to official dignity in Massachusetts. He endeavoured to gain the favor of the party, who, in this province, were opposed to Sir William Phips, by abetting their complaints and intrigues for his removal from office ; and when at length the envied eminence was vacated by that governor's death, the pretensions of Dudley to succeed to it were so powerfully supported at court, that, but for a politic device of his adversaries, they would probably have prevailed. The colony had now adopted the practice of maintaining resident agents at the court of London, to defend its interests and watch the policy and proceedings of the parent state.

Sir Henry Ashurst, a member of parliament, and Constantine Phips, afterwards Lord Chancellor of Ireland, who then discharged this important function, in order to obstruct the elevation of an individual so obnoxious to their constituents as Dudley, strove to injure his credit in England, by stimulating and aiding the exertions of the son of Leisler to procure a parliamentary reversal of his father's attainder. Young Leisler eagerly united with them in denouncing the character of the judge by whom his parent had been condemned ; and, chiefly by their assistance, the act of reversal was obtained. The real object of the agents for Massachusetts was not less effectually promoted by this transaction, which, as it impeached Dudley's credit, so it relaxed the zeal of his English partisans,

—and, betokening a determined opposition to his authority in America, contributed to persuade King William to bestow the government of Massachusetts on Lord Bellamont. Undaunted by this defeat, Dudley labored with the most adroit and persevering assiduity to reinforce the interest by which he hoped to repair it. He cultivated with particular care the good-will of the Protestant Dissenters in England, who had derived a great accession of political weight and consideration from the British Revolution, and were always ready to interpose its efficacy in the councils and arrangements of the court with respect to the people of New England, whose interests they regarded as identified with their own. By a grave and serious deportment, and a conversation well seasoned with piety, good sense, and politeness, Dudley succeeded in recommending himself to this powerful party; and not only engaged their domestic influence in support of his pretensions, but by their good offices was reconciled to the most influential personages among the clergy and politicians of Massachusetts. He was still regarded with enmity and aversion by a great portion of the inhabitants of this province; while the sentiments of those whose hostility he had been enabled to overcome partook rather of hope than confidence. It was manifestly improbable that the administration of such a man would tend to promote harmony and contentment among the colonists, or to improve their regards for the parent state; yet, by the increase of his interest, and the diminished weight of the opposition to his advancement, he finally prevailed on King William to appoint him the successor of Lord Bellamont in the government of Massachusetts and New Hampshire. The king's death following almost immediately after, the appointment was confirmed by Queen Anne; and Dudley, gladly resigning his dignities in England, repaired once more to Boston [1702], where he was received with much ceremonious respect by a provincial council, among whom were several of the persons who had been most actively instrumental to his deposition, imprisonment, and exile.¹

His administration, as might easily have been anticipated, proved neither agreeable to Massachusetts nor advantageous to

¹ Hutchinson.

the parent state. Treating the people with less courtesy, and urging the royal prerogative with less moderation, than Lord Bellamont had displayed, he provoked very speedily a keen and determined spirit of opposition, of which the vehemence must appear disproportioned to the immediate cause, if we overlook the old resentments and jealousies which renewed collision with the same individual tended inevitably to reproduce. In New Hampshire this spirit was repressed by the anxious desire of the people to propitiate the favor of the English government, with the hope (which was not altogether disappointed) of engaging its protection against the legal, but iniquitous, claims with which they were incessantly harassed by the successors of Mason. Dudley was specially directed by the queen to require from the provincial assemblies the establishment of competent and permanent salaries to the governor, the lieutenant-governor, and the judges appointed by the crown; and this requisition was complied with very readily by New Hampshire. But the Massachusetts assembly not only reduced the emoluments of Dudley to about a fourth part of the remuneration they had bestowed on Lord Bellamont, but positively refused to attach a fixed salary to his office, — declaring that it had ever been their privilege to raise and distribute the provincial supplies according to existing emergencies; and that the imposition of permanent burdens was a measure totally unsuitable to the fluctuating circumstances of the people. Dudley made free and frequent use of the power of rejecting members of council nominated by the assembly, — a privilege, which, though doubtless conferred on the governor by the existing charter, had been suffered by his predecessors to remain almost entirely dormant; and he endeavoured, without any warrant from the charter, to appropriate the power of controlling the assembly in the choice of their speaker. Opposed and thwarted in these and various other attempts to enlarge the royal prerogative beyond its legitimate proportions, or to extend its practical efficacy beyond the limits which the patriotism of Sir William Phips and the moderation of Lord Bellamont had prescribed to them, — Dudley was so far bereft of liberality and discretion, as to express a wish that the province might be again deprived of its charter. Only this was wanting to re-

kindle all the hatred and indignation which his conduct in the reign of King James had engendered ; and henceforward, his power and reputation were assailed by a numerous party with the most passionate and implacable animosity ; while, in his own defence, he courted the adherence of a friendly faction, and degraded his character by adopting the crooked and illiberal devices of a party leader. Honor and integrity were violated alike by the policy of the governor and the rage of his opponents.

In the course of the war that ensued with France, he connived at an illicit trade which some merchants who adhered to his party carried on with the French settlements, and he was strongly, though unjustly, suspected of having himself participated in this traffic, by which the military resources of the enemy were increased. During the whole of his administration, many respectable inhabitants, including several of the clergy of Massachusetts, resorted to the most unworthy arts and scandalous intrigues, with the view of supplanting him in the government of the province. To this end, they persuaded Sir Charles Hobby, a man of reputed influence and licentious character, to solicit Dudley's office from Queen Anne ; and besides supporting this worthless candidate with all their might, they prevailed with a committee of the ministers of the church of Scotland to intercede with the queen in his behalf ; — apologizing for, or rather defending, their conduct with loathsome hypocrisy and casuistical cant. These applications of his adversaries to have him displaced from his office were counteracted by petitions for his continuance in it, not only from his own partisans in Massachusetts, but from a great majority of the inhabitants of New Hampshire, who warmly espoused his interests, in return for the honest or politic favor which he demonstrated for theirs in their controversies with the successors of Mason.¹ Nothing could be more impolitic than the conduct of

¹ Hutchinson. Belknap. Sir Henry Ashurst, the provincial agent at London, at first expressed disgust and surprise at the recommendation of such an individual as Hobby by clergymen and other professors of superior piety in New England. But finding that faction rendered his constituents deaf to sober truth and reason, he adopted their views, conducted their negotiation with the church of Scotland, and observed, that, though Hobby was not in all respects the man he could wish to see governor of Massachusetts, yet *the earth must help the woman!* — “ which,” says the historian of Massachusetts, “ too often means no more than *we must do evil that good may come of it.*” Hutchinson. In Sir H. Ashurst's letters we find frequent complaints of an ungrateful

the British government, in employing such an instrument as Dudley to make the first essay in Massachusetts of straining to its utmost height a prerogative, which he had previously forfeited his popularity by assisting to introduce into the provincial constitution, and which his predecessors in authority were suffered practically to lower and relax. The measures he pursued were, doubtless, calculated of themselves to create discontent ; but, promoted by him, and recalling the remembrance of his former apostasy, they provoked a warmth of resentment and bitterness of apprehensive jealousy which the advocacy of no other individual could have excited ; and the pretensions of the parent state were henceforward identified in the minds of the colonists, by strong historical association, with treachery and tyranny. Never did any man labor with greater assiduity than Dudley for the attainment of official dignity in his native land ; nor ever did any one find a more painful preëminence in the gratification of his ambition.

In addition to the rage of domestic dissension, the rekindled flame of foreign war signalized the commencement of Dudley's administration. By the treaty of Ryswick, Louis the Fourteenth had acknowledged the regal title of King William ; and on the death of James, he determined, in conformity with the advice of his minister, not to recognize the claims of the royal exile's son. But, yielding to the entreaties of his mistress, Madame de Maintenon, he abandoned this wise purpose, and openly proclaimed the accession of the Pretender to the crown that had been forfeited by his father. The insult thus offered to the English people betokened the termination of the peace of Ryswick ; and in the month of May, 1702, war was declared by Queen Anne and her allies, the emperor of Germany and the States General of Holland, against France and Spain. This intelligence prepared the English colonists of America for a renewal of hostilities with the colonial settle-

disregard of his services by the colonists. "I see," he declares, on one occasion, "that he who is faithful to his religion and his country must expect his reward above." Hutchinson pronounces these complaints well founded, and declares that the colonial agents were invariably treated with ingratitude and injustice. We have already seen (Note IX., at the end of Vol. I.) a similar testimony from Cotton Mather. Sir Henry Ashurst was succeeded in the agency for the province, in 1710, by his brother, Sir William Ashurst.

ments of the enemy ; and excited, especially in New England, an anxious desire to ascertain how far they might rely on the continuance of their pacific relations with those Indian tribes, who, in previous wars, had been the allies and instruments of the French. To this end, Dudley, accompanied by a deputation of the magistrates of Massachusetts, held a conference with the Indians inhabiting the eastern parts of New England, who readily consented to renew their former treaties, and, with a guileful semblance of candor, avowed that the French had labored to engage their assistance, but protested that they had not the most distant thoughts of breaking the peace, and that their friendship with the English was *firm as a mountain and durable as the sun and moon*. [1703.] These protestations did not gain implicit or general credit ; but, unhappily, from their coincidence rather with the general wish than with repeated experience and manifest probability, they succeeded in lulling some of the colonists into an ungarded security, from which they were first aroused by the fury and havoc of a general attack by those Indians, a few weeks after the conference, on all the frontier settlements of New Hampshire and Massachusetts. So indiscriminate was the hostility of the assailants, that they put even Quakers to the sword ; and so unreasonable was the surprise which their treacherous assault created in some of the colonists, that the anticipations, which wiser persons had entertained and vainly endeavoured to communicate to their neighbours, were ascribed to supernatural agency and impression.

A fierce and desolating warfare ensued between New England and the Eastern Indians, reinforced by the Indian tribes of Canada, and frequently aided by detachments of French troops. The scene of this warfare was confined to Massachusetts and New Hampshire ; for Rhode Island was completely sheltered from attack by the intervention of Massachusetts ; and though a part of Connecticut was considered in danger, the irruptions of the enemy never actually reached this territory. New York secured the benefit of an entire exemption from hostilities, by directing the Five Nations, which were interposed between her territories and Canada, to negotiate for themselves with the French a treaty of strict neutrality between the belligerent powers. The French very willingly agreed to an arrangement

which enabled them to concentrate the force of their Indian auxiliaries against New England, and deprived the English colonists in this quarter of the advantage they would have obtained from the coöperation of the Five Nations. The Indian allies of New England, from the means that had been employed to reduce them to a state of civilization, were become an enervated race, or at least had generally lost the habits and qualities that would have rendered their assistance valuable against Indian foes ; and the Five Nations, whose neutrality was thus sold to the French for the benefit of New York, were the most efficient native allies that the English possessed in America. The injury that New England sustained at this period from New York, where Lord Cornbury presided as governor, was not bounded by the operation of the mean and selfish policy which was thus permitted to debase the public councils of this province. Even during the last war,¹ it was strongly suspected that the Dutch merchants at Albany, with their national preference of commercial profit to political or patriotic considerations, had traded with the Indians who ravaged New Hampshire, supplied them with arms, and promoted their depredations by affording a market for the spoil. This disgraceful practice was now carried on to a large extent, and combined with proceedings still more treacherous and injurious to the English interests. The inhabitants of Albany not only purchased in the most open manner the plunder taken from their fellow-subjects in New England by the Canadian Indians, but even suffered these marauders to pass through their territory in order to attack the New England frontiers.

There were, indeed, some respectable citizens of Albany who regarded the base policy of their fellow-colonists with detestation, and diligently endeavoured to counteract it. Colonel Schuyler, in particular, exerted his interest with the Five Nations for the purpose of discovering the projected expeditions of the French and their allies, and was able on some occasions to afford timely notice to Massachusetts of approaching danger.

¹ The war which was closed by the peace of Ryswick has been denominated by some American writers King William's War. The war which we are now considering has more generally obtained the title of Queen Anne's War.

Thus deprived of an efficient Indian ally, and betrayed by their own fellow-subjects,¹ the inhabitants of Massachusetts and New Hampshire conducted their military operations with great disadvantage against an enemy consisting of numerous flying hordes, divested of those restraints of honor and humanity which mitigate the ferocity of civilized warriors, and whose object was not victory or conquest, but plunder and extermination. Though the Indians received premiums from the French government for the English scalps which they produced in Canada, they did not invariably destroy their victims. They preserved, in particular, a number of children, of whom some were adopted into Indian families, and others were sold, or gratuitously consigned to French priests, who eagerly desired to convert them to the church of Rome; nor was it the least afflicting calamity entailed by the war on the New England colonists, that their offspring were frequently carried into a captivity where they were educated by Catholic priests or heathen savages, and incorporated with a people the enemies of their kindred and of the Protestant faith.

At first the military operations of the colonists were merely defensive, and confined to small parties scattered along the wide frontiers exposed to attack. Of the nature of these hostilities, and the difficulty of overcoming an enemy who warily avoided fighting except with the attendant advantages of assault and surprise, some notion may be derived from the enormous bounty of forty pounds for every Indian scalp, which was proffered by the assemblies of Massachusetts and New Hampshire. In the year 1704, more extended operations were attempted; and Colonel Church, who had distinguished himself in Philip's War,² was despatched by Dudley, at the head of six hundred men, and with an auxiliary naval force, against the French and Indians in Acadia. The French settlers in this quarter now endured a severe retribution of the devastations with which their countrymen in Canada had afflicted New England; but the Indians escaped with very little injury; and much discon-

¹ "Thus our own enemies," says Charlevoix, "assisted our most faithful allies in their difficulties, and whilst they were daily hazarding their lives in our service."

² Book II., Chap. IV., *ante*.

tent and evil surmise were excited in Massachusetts, when it was discovered that Dudley had prohibited any attack upon Port Royal, the capital of the French settlement, — though he was aware of the general hope and belief that the subjugation of this place was the main object of the expedition, and though Church had earnestly solicited the governor's permission to attempt it. Dudley asserted in his defence that he could not venture to undertake an operation of such importance without express instructions from England ; but his forbearance was generally imputed to regard for the interests of an illicit traffic with Port Royal, in which some of his own political partisans were engaged.¹

The province of Connecticut, on this occasion, displayed a spirit diametrically opposite to that which prevailed in the councils of New York. With equal vigor and liberality, the assembly of Connecticut prepared to defend the vulnerable points of its territory, and to succour the other States more exposed to the brunt of war. To prevent the encouragement which the enemy were likely to derive from the influence of the panic that began to prevail in the frontier settlements, it was ordained by an act of the legislature, that all persons deserting their habitations in any of the frontier towns should forfeit the lands and houses from which they withdrew. Prompt and liberal assistance was rendered to Massachusetts and New Hampshire by levies of men and money, which were despatched to coöperate with the military force of those provinces. While the inhabitants of Connecticut were laboring under the weight of these generous exertions, they were incessantly harassed with the most impudent solicitations from Lord Cornbury for pecuniary subsidies in aid of the pretended

¹ Voltaire's *Age of Louis the Fourteenth*. Hutchinson. Belknap. W. Smith's *History of New York*. Dwight's *Travels*. In the year 1704, Sawyer, a respectable colonist of New England, was carried alive by the Indians to Canada, and condemned to expire in torture. An application for his release by the French governor was rejected ; and the unfortunate man was already attached to the stake, when a French priest, rushing into the circle, held forth a key, with which, he declared, that, unless the Indians desisted from their purpose, he would instantly unlock the gate of purgatory, and let out all the diabolical plagues of that place on their heads. Even the stubborn ferocity of the Indians was overcome by the terror of this threat ; and without asking to see the gate or its lock, they surrendered their prisoner with great humility. Dwight.

defence of New York, which his own ignoble policy had already secured from attack by land at the expense of the colonies of New England. But affecting to dread the invasion of a French naval force, he succeeded in rendering the colonists of Pennsylvania, and endeavoured also to render the people of Connecticut, tributary to the defensive measures of erecting batteries at New York. The Pennsylvanian Quakers were induced to depart from their religious principles, on this occasion, by the apprehension of affording a pretext to the British government for abrogating or altering their provincial constitutions. The people of Connecticut had much greater reason to entertain the same apprehension, and, by their refusal to submit to Lord Cornbury's exactions, they stimulated the hostile activity which he was exerting to realize it.

The preservation of the original charter of Connecticut had always been a subject of regret to the revolutionary government of England; and various attempts were successively made to withdraw or curtail the popular franchises which it conferred. We have remarked the encroachment attempted by King William, in the year 1693, on the chartered rights of the province, and the determined opposition by which his policy was defeated.¹ In the year 1701, a more sustained and deliberate effort was made to undermine those rights altogether, by a bill which was introduced into the English House of Lords for rescinding all the existing American charters, and subjecting the relative provinces to the immediate dominion of the crown. The preamble of the bill declared that the charters which had been bestowed on certain of the English colonies were prejudicial to the trade and customs of the kingdom, no less than to *the welfare of those settlements which had not obtained charters*; and that piracy, smuggling, and other illegal practices were countenanced and encouraged by the governments of the chartered colonies. An address of remonstrance against this measure was transmitted to England by the province of Massachusetts; but the principal opposition which it received proceeded from Connecticut, against whose charter it was more especially directed. Sir Henry Ashurst, who was the agent

¹ *Ante*, Book V., Chap. II.

at London for this province as well as for Massachusetts, having obtained leave to defend the interests of his constituents at the bar of the House of Lords, represented that the rights and privileges established by the charter of Connecticut had been granted on weighty considerations, and as the meed of valuable services actually performed ; that the colonists had, at a great expense, purchased, subdued, and planted an extensive country, and defended it against the Dutch, the French, and other public enemies ; and that the fruit of their exertions had been a great enlargement of the English dominions and commerce ; that on the charter there was reposed not only the stability of the municipal institutions of the province, but the security of the titles by which the inhabitants enjoyed their private estates ; that Connecticut had never been accused, far less convicted, of abetting piracy or smuggling, and was willing to reform any illegal practice which might have inadvertently sprung up within her jurisdiction, whenever such illegality should be specifically indicated ; and that the abolition of so many charters was calculated to destroy all confidence in the crown and its patents and pledges, to discourage all future enterprise in colonizing and defending North America, to create universal discontent and disaffection in the colonies, and to produce effects more prejudicial to the British nation than any of those which were enumerated in the preamble of the bill.

The force of these reasons, backed by the support which the New England colonists received from the English Protestant Dissenters, operated so powerfully against the bill, that it was withdrawn by its promoters. Lord Cornbury and Dudley, who had supported this measure, now labored assiduously to retrieve its failure, and to furnish Queen Anne and her ministers with some plausible pretext that would justify them in the public opinion for again attempting by judicial process or legislative act to annul the charter of Connecticut. Dudley engaged a venal scholar to compose a treatise, which was entitled *The Doom or Miseries of Connecticut*, and contained a tissue of slanderous charges against this colony, an exposition of the advantages of a general government for New England, and a warm panegyric on the administration of Sir Edmund Andros, prior to the British Revolution. Among other accusations,

the assembly of Connecticut was reproached with an entire denial of succour to Massachusetts, — at the very time when Dudley's letters to them were filled with grateful acknowledgments of the liberal aid they afforded. The charges contained in this volume were communicated in a formal shape to the queen by Dudley and Cornbury ; and there was presented along with them a complaint which these personages had instigated certain discontented litigants before the courts of Connecticut to prefer, and which imputed to the assembly of this province the most fraudulent and oppressive conduct towards an Indian tribe named the Mohegans or Mohicans. Lord Cornbury assured the queen that her authority would never be respected in Connecticut as long as the people retained the power of appointing their own governor ; and Dudley directed her attention to an opinion which King William obtained from one of his crown lawyers, importing that “ the crown might send a governor to Connecticut.” The queen readily availed herself of this last pretext, and intimated to the provincial agent that she would proceed forthwith to exercise the prerogative which was thus ascribed to the crown ; but she was compelled to arrest the execution of her purpose by a forcible remonstrance, in which, from facts and arguments quite incontrovertible, it was clearly deduced that the opinion of King William's adviser had reference to a hypothetical case, and was founded on the assumption that the colony was unable to defend itself. Lord Cornbury and Dudley were thereupon remitted to the proof of the complaints which they had preferred, and which, after harassing Connecticut with a vexatious and expensive controversy, were shown to be entirely destitute of foundation. The investigation of the complaint respecting the Mohegans, which involved a territorial dispute, was protracted for many years, but finally terminated in like manner in the triumph of Connecticut.

The animosity of Lord Cornbury and Dudley against this province seemed to be rather inflamed than exhausted by their successive defeats. [1705.] Aware that their exertions were seconded by the wishes of the queen, whose forbearance was dictated solely by the obstructions of legal formalities and the force of public opinion, they continued to produce against the

government of Connecticut a variety of charges, some of which were so manifestly incapable of abiding parliamentary scrutiny or judicial investigation, that they could not have been intended to serve any other purpose than that of depreciating the colonists in the regards of their English fellow-subjects, and abating the general sympathy by which they were aided in the defence of their liberties. Among other proceedings of this description was the charge they derived from one of the laws published by the Connecticut assembly more than fifty years before, against the Quakers, during the general persecution of Quakerism in New England; and which, as it had been framed before the Connecticut charter was in existence, could never imply an abuse of the power which this charter conferred. A complaint against that law was presented to the queen in council, describing it as an ordinance recently enacted, and beseeching her Majesty's interposition to prevent the injustice which it threatened from being carried into effect. In vain the provincial agent endeavoured to prevent the sanction of a royal order from being imparted to this charge, by offering to prove that the law was enacted half a century before; that it had never been executed even at that time, and was long since deemed obsolete; and that no suspicion could now be reasonably entertained of an attempt to revive or enforce it, as there was not a single Quaker living in the colony. An order of council was issued nevertheless, describing the complaint precisely in the terms in which it had been presented, and annulling the law as a recent enactment, and an abuse of the powers conferred by the provincial charter. To give greater efficacy to this proceeding, the Quakers of London, who had been persuaded to support the complaint, and must, therefore, have known the explanation which it had received, presented a public address of thanks to the queen, for her gracious interposition in behalf of their brethren in New England; taking especial care so to express their acknowledgment of what she had done, that the public should not be undeceived as to the actual date of the law that was repealed.¹

¹ The vindictive dislike which was long cherished by many of the Quakers towards the people of New England appears on several occasions to have obscured their moral discrimination. More than seventy years after this

This transaction appears the more surprising, when we recollect, that, at the time of its occurrence, the only American persecution of which the Quakers had reason to complain was that which was inflicted on their brethren by Lord Cornbury himself in New Jersey.¹ Yet so strong was the hereditary resentment of these sectarians against New England, as not only to enfeeble their sense of justice, but to overpower their sense of present interest, and render them the willing tools of their only existing oppressor. Notwithstanding all the falsehood and intrigue that was exerted in this affair, it yielded no other satisfaction to its promoters than what their malignity might derive from wounding the feelings and calumniating the reputation of the people of Connecticut. This people, meanwhile, retained their virtue uncorrupted and their spirit undepressed, and encountered every variety of trouble with unconquerable patience, resolution, and magnanimity. Menaced at once by national and political enemies, and burdened with a heavy expenditure for the succour of their allies, the defence of their own territory, and the preservation of their chartered rights, they cheerfully continued, and even augmented, the liberality by which the ministers and the ordinances of religion were supported. They contemplated the varied scene of peril and deliverance depicted in their past history, and supplied by their present experience, with solemn and grateful elevation of regard; and, rejoicing in the preservation of their liberty, ascribed this blessing, and the victorious virtue which it rewarded, to the favor and beneficence of the great Arbiter of destiny and Parent of good.²

period, Robert Proud, the Quaker and American historian, with astonishing ignorance or shameful equivocation, published a copy of the queen's order in council and of the Quakers' address, with the preliminary remark, that "About this time (anno 1705), the Quakers in America seem to have reason to be alarmed by a singular act of assembly passed in the colony of Connecticut; the substance or purport of which appears by the order of Queen Anne in council, made upon that occasion."

¹ *Ante*, Book VI.

² Trumbull. Hutchinson. "Is it possible to review the sufferings, dangers, expense of blood and treasure, with which our liberties, civil and religious, have been transmitted to us, and not to esteem them precious? Can we contemplate the sobriety, wisdom, integrity, industry, economy, public spirit, peaceableness, good order, and other virtues, by which this republic hath arisen from the smallest beginnings to its present strength, opulence, beauty, and respectability, and not admire those virtues, and acknowledge their high importance to society? Shall we not make them our own; and by the constant

Although the policy of New York produced the effect of restricting the hostilities of the French and their Indian allies, during this war, to the northern colonies of Britain, there was another hostile power to whose attack the most southerly of the colonial settlements was peculiarly exposed. The Spaniards in Florida had been for some time preparing an expedition for the reduction of Carolina [1706]; and at length despatched against it a force by which they confidently expected to overpower all resistance, and victoriously establish the ancient pretensions of the Spanish crown to the dominion of this territory. Apprized of their design, Sir Nathaniel Johnson, the governor of South Carolina, exerted much skill and vigor to put the colony in a posture of defence. His efforts were seconded by the spirit of the colonists, who heard with undaunted firmness that the approaching armament of Spain was reinforced by a junction with some French ships of war. On the arrival of the combined fleet at Charleston, Le Feboure, the French admiral, who assumed the command of the expedition, sent a message with a flag of truce into the place, requiring its instant surrender to the arms of France and Spain, and threatening its capture by storm, if a submissive answer were not returned within an hour. Johnson, anticipating this step, had arranged the provincial militia, and the warriors of a friendly Indian tribe who marched to their assistance, in a disposition which was ingeniously adapted to convey to a hasty glance a very exaggerated notion of the strength of the besieged; and precluding the hostile messenger from the opportunity of more deliberate observation, dismissed him abruptly with the disdainful reply, that the enemy needed not to wait one minute for the answer to their summons; that he was ready to sustain the threatened attack; and that, commanding a people who preferred death to submission, he would willingly shed the last drop of his blood in their defence. This dexterous parade of simulated force, which induced the invaders to proceed with more caution than they at first supposed to be necessary, was followed by an active and successful exertion of valor that consummated the deliverance and triumph of Carolina. A

practice of them, hand down our distinguished liberties, dignity, and happiness to the latest ages?" Trumbull.

detachment of the enemy's troops, which were disembarked with the view of seconding by land the operations of the fleet, were unexpectedly attacked at daybreak by Captain Cantey and a chosen band of the provincial militia, who routed them in an instant, and, having slain a considerable number of them, compelled the remainder to surrender as prisoners of war. Animated by this success, the courage of the Carolinians could no longer be confined to defensive conflict; and, yielding to their ardor, the governor permitted Captain Rhett, an able and intrepid officer, who commanded six small vessels that formed the naval force of Charleston, to try the fortune of a bold assault on the superior strength of the invading squadron. But the enemy, disheartened by the check which they had received on shore, and the unexpected emergency of sustaining instead of inflicting attack, declined the overture of farther battle, and, weighing anchor, retired from Rhett's approach, and abandoned the expedition. A few days after, a French ship of war, arriving to join the combined fleet, and unacquainted with the discomfiture of the enterprise, landed a number of troops in Seewee Bay, where they were attacked and put to flight by Captain Fenwick and a party of the provincial militia; and they had hardly regained their vessel, when she was surrounded and captured by the little armament of Rhett. Thus terminated the invasion of Carolina, in a manner that reflected the highest honor on the conduct and courage of the colonists. The loss of men that they sustained was very inconsiderable; but the public satisfaction was not a little depressed by the heavy taxes which were imposed to defray the expense of the military preparations.¹

The war, of late, had languished in New England. Vaudreuil, the governor of Canada, doubting the ability of the French monarch to dispense with a portion of the strength of his European armies for the reinforcement of the provincial troops, and perceiving that his Indian allies ceased to combat with their wonted alacrity and were desirous of peace, had, in the preceding year, sent a commissioner to Boston, with propositions of a treaty of neutrality between Canada and New

¹ Hewit.

England. These propositions were communicated by Dudley to the General Court, who declined to take any step in promoting an arrangement so inconsistent with their favorite and long cherished hope of an invasion and conquest of Canada. Dudley, however, continued artfully to protract a correspondence with Vaudreuil, and vaunted to his countrymen the repose which their frontier settlements derived for some time from his policy. But Dudley had now become an object of incurable jealousy and dislike to the majority of the colonists ; and the intermission of hostilities served to increase his unpopularity, when it was ascertained that the chief benefit of it resulted to the French, who obtained an accession to their military stores from certain merchants of Boston, who were stanch adherents of Dudley, and whose illicit traffic he plainly appeared to have sanctioned, and was generally suspected of having partaken. Vaudreuil, finding himself duped by Dudley, endeavoured to rekindle the flame of war, and with much difficulty prevailed on his savage auxiliaries to resume their predatory inroads upon the frontiers of New England. With the view of stimulating their ardor, and increasing their attachment to the French interest, he despatched Nescambouit, a noted Indian chief, to the court of France, to receive from the king's own hands the reward of those cruelties that had rendered him the terror of the English frontiers. On his appearance at Versailles, Nescambouit held up his hand, and boasted that it had been the messenger of death to a hundred and fifty of the enemies of the Most *Christian* King. Louis received him with courteous demonstrations of friendship and esteem ; loaded him with caresses ; conferred on him a pension of eight livres a day ; presented him with a sword ; and, according to the report of some writers, elevated him to the dignity of knighthood.

It was not a mere vague desire or visionary speculation of the conquest of Canada that prevented the Massachusetts assembly from accepting Vaudreuil's proposition of neutrality. [1707.¹] They had repeatedly urged the British government to undertake this enterprise ; and their applications were sec-

¹ The union which took place this year between England and Scotland extended the licensed trade of the North American colonies to all parts of the island of Great Britain.

oned by Colonel Nicholson and other partisans of arbitrary government in America, who judged that an extended system of military operation, the presence of a British army, and the necessity of united contributions of the several colonies for its support, would promote their own ambitious views, and invigorate the authority of the parent state. The British government seemed at length to have acceded to the wishes of the colonists, who were encouraged to expect that an armament would be despatched in the commencement of the present year from England, for the reduction of the French settlements in Canada and Acadia. In reality, a considerable detachment of troops, under the command of General Macartney, had been destined by the English ministers to undertake this enterprise ; but their services were diverted and the expedition intercepted by the defeat of the English and their allies at the battle of Almanza, in Spain. The government of Massachusetts, meanwhile, had made active exertions to assemble an auxiliary force to coöperate with the armament expected from the parent state ; and though the detention of the English troops rendered the attack which had been contemplated on Canada impracticable, it was still hoped that the native force already collected might, with the assistance of the other New England States, be employed to strike an important blow, and perhaps achieve the conquest of Acadia. Rhode Island and New Hampshire willingly contributed to reinforce the troops of Massachusetts for this purpose ; but Connecticut, alarmed by intelligence from Colonel Schuyler of a projected invasion of French and Indians from Canada, and engrossed with the defence of her own and the New Hampshire frontiers, declined to take any part in an enterprise to which the concurrence of her councils had not been previously invited.

Two regiments, composed of the forces supplied by the other States, and amounting to about a thousand men, commanded by Colonel March, were embarked at Nantasket, whence they sailed to Acadia under convoy of an English ship of war. [May, 1707.] Arriving at Port Royal, they made an attempt to bombard it ; but displayed in all their operations a defect of discipline and skill which courage alone was insufficient to counterbalance. At a council of war, it was resolved,

“ that the enemy’s well disciplined garrison in a strong fort is more than a match for our ill disciplined militia ” ; and, abandoning the siege, the troops retired to Casco Bay. Dudley was greatly provoked at this result ; and the more so, because the attack on Port Royal had on the present occasion been specially enjoined by himself in opposition to the wishes of the General Court, which preferably recommended the devastation of the territory of Acadia. With more of headlong pertinacity than of considerate wisdom, he ordered the dispirited troops to return to Port Royal and resume the siege they had abandoned ; and distrusting the capacity of March, but afraid to displace a popular officer, he adopted a practice familiar to the military councils of the Venetians and the Dutch,¹ and despatched three commissioners to the camp with power to superintend and control the proceedings of the nominal commander. So much insubordination and discontent now prevailed among the troops, that it was with difficulty they were induced to obey the mandate to return again to the scene of their recent repulse ; and when they actually reached it a second time, the season was so far advanced, and sickness was spreading so fast among them, that success was plainly more improbable than before. Some sharp encounters ensued between them and the enemy, in which both sides claimed an insignificant victory ; but the position of the invaders becoming more perilous every day, they finally abandoned the enterprise and returned to New England,—where their conduct was universally lamented and more generally than justly condemned.

While this expedition was in progress, the frontiers of Massachusetts and New Hampshire were ravaged by the Indians ; and in the following year [1708], the intelligence that had been communicated by Colonel Schuyler was authenticated by the assemblage of a formidable band of French troops and Indian auxiliaries, who marched from Canada to invade New England. A scene of extensive ravage, rather than conquest, was portended by this expedition ; but the force of the blow was broken, and the plans of the enemy disconcerted, by the abrupt desertion of two Indian tribes ; one of which was terrified

¹ This practice was likewise imitated at a later period by the chiefs of the revolutionary republic of France.

from advancing by an incident which they construed into an augury of evil,¹ and the other was induced by the influence and negotiations of Colonel Schuyler to decline a prosecution of the campaign, under pretence that they had contracted an infectious disease, which they were afraid of communicating to their allies by longer association with them. [August, 1708.] Disconcerted as well as extenuated by these desertions, the invading forces attempted nothing more important than an attack on the village of Haverhill, in Massachusetts, which they plundered and set fire to. Satisfied with this paltry triumph, they commenced a hasty retreat, but were compelled to abide a sharp skirmish with a party of the Massachusetts militia, before the woods afforded them shelter from farther pursuit.²

The disappointment which New England sustained by the diversion of the troops of the parent state from the invasion of Canada, and the mortification which attended the abortive attempt on Port Royal, served to enhance the general hope and joy produced by the intelligence that the English government had resumed its suspended designs against the French colonies on a larger scale of operation than was formerly contemplated, and with an activity and minuteness of preparatory arrangement that betokened immediate performance. [1709.] Letters from the Earl of Sunderland announced to the provincial governments of all the English colonies, except Virginia, Maryland, and Carolina, to which no communication was addressed, that the queen was preparing to attack the settlements of France in Canada, Acadia, and Newfoundland. The plan of operation (devised by Colonel Vetch, who had acquainted himself with the condition of the French settlements), and the extent to which the several colonies were required to coöperate with it, were distinctly unfolded. An English squadron was to be despatched in time to reach Boston by the middle of May, with five regiments of regular troops, which were to be joined by twelve hundred auxiliaries required from Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire, whose respective

¹ One of the tribe had accidentally killed his companion.

² Charlevoix. When Charlevoix's *Travels* (Letters) are not expressly specified, it is to his *History of New France* that I refer. Hutchinson. Belknap. Trumbull.

quotas were defined, and who were directed to provide transports and provisions for three months' service of their forces. This armament was destined to attack Quebec. A levy of fifteen hundred men was required at the same time from Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania ; and this corps was appointed to proceed by Lake Champlain to the invasion of Montreal. So little was the spirit of the colonists understood by the British court, that a general reluctance to comply with the royal mandate was anticipated ; and Colonel Vetch, who was despatched to superintend the arrangements of the provincial governments, was most superfluously authorized to offer the boon of a preferable interest in the trade and soil of Canada to those colonies which should actually contribute to its conquest.

The mandate, however, was received not only with acquiescence, but with the most cordial satisfaction, by all the colonies except Pennsylvania, where the Quakers, who composed the majority of the assembly, protested to Gookin, their governor, that the fundamental object and purpose of their provincial settlement was, to afford an inviolable sanctuary to the principles of peace and philanthropy ; that their principles and consciences would not suffer them to contribute a farthing for the purpose of hiring men to slay one another ; but that they cherished, nevertheless, a dutiful attachment to the queen, and in demonstration of this sentiment now voted to her Majesty a present of five hundred pounds, which was all they could afford to bestow, — and for the application of which (says a Quaker historian) they did not account themselves responsible. The zeal of the other colonies surpassed the limits of the royal requisition. Thanks were voted by the provincial assemblies to the queen for the promised armament from England ; and besides the quotas that were specified, independent companies were raised and added to the provincial forces. None of the States demonstrated more ardor than New York. The inhabitants of this province had been recently delivered from the sway of Lord Cornbury ; and had experienced only a gratifying liberality of treatment from his successor, Lord Lovelace, whose sudden death, after an administration of a few months, intercepted a dissension that would infallibly have

been produced by the queen's instructions to him to insist for a permanent salary, and by the determination of the assembly to make no such arrangement. The command was now exercised by Ingoldsby, the lieutenant-governor, and the council, who manifested a zeal and liberality in the common cause that atoned for the selfish policy with which this province had previously been reproached.¹ Aided by the powerful influence of Colonel Schuyler, the provincial authorities negotiated so successfully with the Five Nations, as to induce them to consent to violate their neutrality, and contribute an auxiliary force of six hundred Indian warriors to accompany the expedition against Montreal.

Colonel Nicholson, whose experience and ability were highly commended by the queen to the provincial governments, was intrusted with the command of the forces destined to this enterprise, and marched with them at the appointed time to Wood Creek, where he awaited the arrival of the English fleet at Boston [May, 1709], — in order that the attack of Quebec and Montreal might take place at the same time. The troops of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire were embodied with equal punctuality, and, under the command of Colonel Vetch, assembled at Boston, with their transports and stores, — eager to behold the signal of action in the arrival of the promised fleet from Britain, and fixed in expectation of a decisive and successful campaign. But the hopes of America were fated to be again deferred. The two armaments continued, in this state of preparation, and without the slightest intelligence from England, to await the arrival of her fleet till the month of September, when the advanced season of the year finally terminated the public suspense, and proclaimed that the expedition was no longer practicable. About a month after, a vessel arrived at Boston with despatches from the British government, which announced that the troops prepared for America had been suddenly required in Portugal to reinforce the defeated armies of the English and their allies in that quarter of Europe. Nicholson, meanwhile,

¹ The expenditure of New York on this occasion amounted to twenty thousand pounds; that of New Jersey to three thousand pounds. W. Smith. S. Smith.

after seeing his forces wasted by sickness during his inactivity at Wood Creek, had retreated, in compliance with orders from New York, whose assembly expressed the liveliest indignation at the public disappointment; and Vetch, after vainly attempting to promote a substitutional enterprise against Port Royal, which the ministerial despatches suggested to him, but which the English ships of war in the neighbourhood refused to assist, was compelled to disband the forces of New England. The chagrin and discontent which this catastrophe produced in the British colonies was proportioned to the ardor of the hopes that were disappointed, and the magnitude of the preparatory efforts that were rendered abortive. All hearts had at first been gladdened with the joyful prospect of a final deliverance from the encroachments and ravages of the French and their Indian allies, — of a victorious aggrandizement of the British empire, and a vast enlargement of the national commerce. And if the English ministry had fulfilled the encouraging assurances recently held forth by them, instead of sacrificing the wishes and interests of America to the most insignificant branch of their connection with the continental politics of Europe, it is impossible to doubt that this prospect would have been realized, and the French empire in America completely overthrown. It redounded, perhaps, to the lasting advantage of the American provinces, that events were otherwise ordered.

Among other topics of regret which were suggested to the Americans by this signal disappointment, was the mortality which had wasted the forces at Wood Creek. If we may credit the representation of the historian of the French colonies, the English owed this calamity to the treachery of their Indian auxiliaries, — whom the selfish policy formerly pursued by New York had taught to calculate the advantage of their own neutrality between France and England, and of preventing either of these rival powers from obtaining a complete ascendancy over the other. According to the statements of this author, the Five Nations, or at least some of their leading politicians (whether from French suggestion or their own unaided sagacity), had embraced the opinion, that, situated between two powerful states, either of which was capable of

totally extirpating them, they would infallibly be destroyed by the one, which, by conquering the other, should cease to depend on the aid or intervention of the Five Nations. Entertaining these views, and apprehending the conquest of Montreal by the arms of the English, a party of the Indians are said to have insidiously corrupted the water of which their unsuspecting allies drank, by throwing the skins, and other refuse, of the game which they procured by hunting, into the river on whose banks the forces of Nicholson were posted.¹

A congress (as this memorable term was then, for the first time, employed in America) of the governors and delegates of the colonies which had sustained loss and disappointment from the late enterprise was assembled in the close of the year at Rehoboth, in Massachusetts, and attended by Vetch and Nicholson. Addresses of remonstrance and solicitation to the parent state were recommended by this assembly, and adopted by the respective provincial governments. Nicholson repaired shortly after to England, for the purpose of aiding the petitions of the colonists by his own personal influence and counsel; and Colonel Schuyler, whom the recent events inspired with equal surprise and dissatisfaction, resolved, at his own private expense, to undertake a similar mission; and conceived the idea of enhancing its efficacy by the imitation of a politic device, of which the example had been given by the French governor, Vaudreuil. With the approbation of the assembly of New York, which bestowed the highest praise on his patriotism and generosity, and made him the bearer of an address to the queen, he prevailed on five sachems or chiefs of the confederacy of the Five Nations to accompany him as ambassadors from their people to the court of England, and unite in soliciting the aid of a British force for the invasion of Canada. The object of this embassy (which appears strangely irreconcilable with the alleged transactions at Wood Creek) was not merely to second the application of the colonists to the queen, but to impress the Indian tribes with a lofty idea of the power and greatness of the English monarchy, and

¹ Charlevoix. Oldmixon. W. Smith. Hutchinson. S. Smith. Belknap. Proud. Trumbull.

counteract the representations by which the French depreciated its claims to respect, and magnified the glory and advantage of an alliance with the sovereign of France. [1710.] The arrival of the Indian sachems strongly excited the interest and curiosity of the people of England; nor could a more effectual means have been devised of awakening a general attention in the parent state to the condition and wishes of the colonies. Vast multitudes of people continually followed the sachems with wondering gaze; engravings of their figures were circulated through the whole kingdom; the principal nobility displayed to them the magnificence and hospitality of England, in the most sumptuous banquets; they were conducted to a review of the guards in Hyde Park by the Duke of Ormond, and entertained on board the admiral's ship, in the midst of a fleet that was riding at anchor near Southampton. The skill of the directors of the London theatre, and the resources of its wardrobe, were employed to deck the persons of the ambassadors in apparel at once appropriate to their barbarian character and suitable to European conceptions of royalty. They were introduced to the queen with extraordinary solemnity [April, 1710], and addressed her in a speech importing that they had waged a long war, in conjunction with her children, against her enemies, the French, and had formed a defensive bulwark to her colonies, even at the expense of the blood of their own bravest warriors; that they had mightily rejoiced, on hearing the intention of their great queen to send an army to invade Canada, and had thereupon, with one consent, hung up the kettle of peace, and grasped the hatchet of war in aid of General Nicholson; but that, when they heard that their great queen was diverted by other affairs from her design of subduing the French, their hearts had been saddened by the apprehension of the contempt of an enemy who had hitherto regarded them with dread. They declared, in conclusion, that they were deeply interested in the reduction of Canada; and that, if their interests should be disregarded by the great queen to whose gracious consideration they were now commended, the Five Nations must either forsake their territories, or dissolve their alliance with England by a treaty of perpetual peace with France.

In compliance with the solicitations of the provincial assemblies and their Indian allies, the English government once more engaged to despatch an armament for the invasion of Canada ; but only faint hopes were afforded of its arrival in America before the following year. These hopes, however, backed by the arrival of Nicholson from Europe with five small ships of war, were sufficient to induce the New England States once more to collect a naval and military force, which again assembled at Boston to await the succour of the parent state, and to endure another disappointment. Nicholson, discerning at last that no farther aid was this year to be expected from England, in order to lessen the mortification and animate the spirit of the colonists, determined to lead his forces against Port Royal, on which he had reason to believe, that, notwithstanding the advancement of the season, a bold attack could hardly fail of success, from the mutinous and extenuated condition of the French garrison. Arriving at Port Royal [September 24, 1710], the troops were landed with little opposition ; and Subercase, the governor, perceiving, that, from the superiority of the invaders and the temper of his own soldiers, neither victory nor an honorable resistance was to be expected, waited only till a few discharges of the British artillery afforded him a decent pretext for capitulation. The fort and settlement of Port Royal, together with the whole province of Acadia, were accordingly surrendered to the crown of Great Britain. [October 2, 1710.] Colonel Vetch was appointed by Nicholson to the command of Port Royal, which, in honor of the queen, now received the name of Annapolis ; and intimation was made to Vaudreuil, the governor of Canada, that, if he should continue to despatch his Indian allies to ravage the frontiers and slaughter the colonists of New England, the most ample retribution would be inflicted on his subjugated countrymen in Acadia. This threat, which Vaudreuil entirely disregarded, was never carried into effect by the people of New England. Harassed by the continual depredations on their frontiers by the Canadian Indians, they applied to Hunter, who was now appointed governor of New York, and besought him to engage the Five Nations to act for the common behoof, and check

those hostilities which were prompted by the instigation and waged by the auxiliaries of the common enemy. But as the Five Nations, notwithstanding all the demonstration of enmity to the French that was recently elicited from them, had never yet by actual warfare departed from their treaty of neutrality, and as New York was indebted for the repose of her frontiers to the respect which was still professed for this treaty by France and her allies, Hunter refused to embroil the Five Nations, for the sake of New England, with an enemy whom the pretext of neutrality still precluded from carrying hostilities into the territory of New York.¹

Elated by his recent successful exploit, and by the popularity which rewarded his exertions to accomplish the favorite object of the colonists, Nicholson again repaired to England, in order to urge upon the British government the fulfilment of its promise to undertake the invasion of Canada. But, in consequence of the signal change that the ministerial cabinet of Queen Anne had now undergone, the colonists no longer expected a favorable issue to this application. A contest, of which the interest was extended to America, had prevailed ever since the Revolution between the Whigs and the Tories of England, and was inflamed of late years by the near probability of an emergence which promised to develop the farthest efficacy of the revolutionary principles, and once more to illustrate their features in broad and living display. It was now manifest that Queen Anne would die without leaving issue ; and, according to the *Act of Settlement* of the crown, the principle of hereditary succession was, in that event, again to be violated, and the Elector of Hanover called to the throne in preference to the exiled brother of the queen. This was a catastrophe which all the Tories contemplated with reluctance, and which a considerable party among them sought to avert with assiduous exertion and intrigue. This party was opposed to the continuance of the war with France, and endeavoured, neither unsuccessfully nor altogether groundlessly, to persuade their countrymen that the hostilities on the continent of Europe had been latterly prolonged at a heavy and unprofitable expense to Eng-

¹ Oldmixon. W. Smith. S. Smith. Hutchinson. Trumbull. Belknap.

land, for the advantage of the Whig ministers, the commanders of their armies, and their continental allies. In the speeches and writings of the Tory politicians, though the Revolution was not expressly arraigned, the legitimacy of the principles on which it reposed, and of any farther extension or practical application of them, was openly disowned.

A violent controversy ensued between the two parties ; in which the one defended the principles of the Revolution, — maintaining that they were indissolubly blended with the political system of England, and urging the people to contend for them as the national property and glory ; — while the other, with a passionate and contagious zeal, strove to pledge the public sentiment to an abjuration of principles which they reproached as repugnant alike to the English constitution and the Christian religion. Sacheverell, the pulpit champion of the Tories, proclaimed that monarchy was of divine origin, and hereditary succession to the crown an indefeasible right ; he denounced the Presbyterians and other Dissenters, who were universally favorable to the Revolution, as the enemies of England ; and, exclaiming that *the church was in danger*, sounded an alarm which has often transported Englishmen beyond the bounds of reason and moderation.

The University of Oxford, at the same time, in full convocation, affixed its sanction to a decree that passive obedience and non-resistance were fundamental principles of the English constitution.¹ And though the House of Lords condemned both Sacheverell's sermons and the Oxford decree to be burned by the hands of the common executioner, and requested the queen to promote Dr. Hoadley, who had preached a discourse in vindication of the right of resistance to evil rulers, — it was obvious that the sentiments of the Tories were cordially espoused both by the queen and by a numerous party among the people. The mass of mankind, when unenlightened by education or experience, have always been partial to royalty, and susceptible of impressions favorable even to its most arrogant pretensions, — not only from their proneness to idolize visible greatness, but from the concurrent, though seemingly opposite, sen-

¹ And yet this University sent its plate to the Prince of Orange, when he invaded England.

timent of a jealous aversion to brook the superiority of those who seem not to be lifted a great way above themselves. The grandeur and peerless supremacy of the master seem at once to elevate the general condition and to efface the particular distinctions of his slaves ; and the maxim of the father of epic poetry, that *one prince is preferable to a number of princes*, may be regarded as expressing the universal persuasion of mankind that equality is more perfectly realized under a monarchical than under an aristocratical system of government. The queen had been swayed all her life by female favorites ; and the influence which the Whigs at first enjoyed with her, and which her attachment to the Duchess of Marlborough contributed not a little to preserve, incurred a proportional detriment from her quarrel with this imperious favorite, and the transference of her regards to Mrs. Masham, who was devoted to the Tories. The expulsion of the Whigs from office followed very soon after, and was beheld with much regret and disapprobation by the people of New England. One of the first acts of the Tory ministry was the abandonment and reprobation of a policy which had proved highly advantageous to the American provinces. By the advice of her Whig counsellors, the queen had encouraged and assisted a great number of Palatine exiles to emigrate to her dominions in America ; and several thousands of useful and industrious settlers were latterly added to the population of New York and Pennsylvania. Whether from apprehension that these people would render America a manufacturing country, or from mere enmity and contradiction to the Whigs, the Tory ministers prevailed with the House of Commons to pass a vote of censure of the assistance which the Palatines had received, and to declare that the advisers of this measure were enemies to the queen and the realm. It was the recent change of ministry which led the people of New England to doubt the success of Nicholson's mission, and to despair of receiving aid for extended warfare on France from the Tory ministers who now guided the councils of the queen.

The utmost surprise was consequently excited by the return of Nicholson to Boston [June 1711], bearing the royal command to the several governments of New England, New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey, again to collect their forces to

act in conjunction with an English fleet which they were desired forthwith to expect, and which actually arrived a very few days after. It was further remarked as extraordinary, that the fleet was not victualled, and that a supply of provisions for ten weeks was abruptly required from Massachusetts, for the use of the English troops. These circumstances, conspiring with the idea entertained by the colonists of the policy of the royal cabinet, induced a general suspicion that the British government had never seriously contemplated the conquest of Canada, and that the design of the present ministers was that the expedition should prove abortive, and the blame of its miscarriage be imputed to New England. This suspicion served only to excite the provincial governments to increased diligence of preparation; in which their activity was amply seconded by the ardor of the people, who, especially in New England, readily incurred every sacrifice that their rulers proposed, and even zealously anticipated and exceeded their requisitions. Even the Pennsylvanian assembly, with somewhat less delay than usual, voted a *present* of two thousand pounds to the queen. The neighbouring colonies exerted all their vigor and ability; New York once more prevailed with the Five Nations to send six hundred of their warriors to join her militia; Connecticut, in addition to her own share in the general equipment, aided New York with provisions; and in the other New England States, so active and industrious was the preparation, that, little more than a month after the arrival of the English fleet, it was enabled to set sail from Boston for Canada. [July 30, 1711.] The fleet consisted of fifteen ships of war, forty transports, and six store-ships with a complete train of artillery; while the land army on board was composed of five regiments drawn from England and Flanders, and two which had been raised in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire. Sir Hovenden Walker commanded the fleet; and Brigadier Hill, brother to the queen's favorite, Mrs. Masham, commanded the land force, amounting to about seven thousand men, and consequently very nearly equal to the army, which, under Wolfe, subsequently reduced Quebec, when the defensive resources of this city were much greater than what it now possessed. On the same day on which the fleet sailed from Boston, General

Nicholson commenced his march from New York to Albany, where he shortly after appeared at the head of four thousand men levied in the colonies of Connecticut, New York, and New Jersey. He had advanced but a little way towards Canada, when tidings of the failure of the naval enterprise compelled him to return.

Admiral Walker, on arriving in the mouth of the river St. Lawrence, betrayed a want of judgment in needlessly staying the progress of the voyage for some days. [August 14, 1711.] Soon after it was resumed, the fleet was overtaken by a thick fog and a heavy gale, in the most perilous part of the navigation. The admiral, disregarding the advice of the New England pilots, preferred to consult certain French pilots whom he had procured ; and, whether from receiving treacherous or erroneous counsel from these persons, or from his own jealous conceit and obstinacy in not adhering punctually to their directions, — for thus differently has the matter been represented by different writers, — the fleet was manœuvred so unfortunately as to be driven on shore in circumstances of imminent and general danger. Some of the ships sustained considerable damage ; eight or nine of the transports were wrecked, and nearly a thousand men buried in the waves. The wind, instantly after, shifted to a point which would have speedily conveyed the fleet to Quebec ; but, in consequence of the disaster that had befallen him, the admiral bore away for Spanish River Bay. Here a council of naval and military officers was assembled, and, after a short deliberation, resolved, that, as they had but ten weeks' provisions on board, and could not expect a farther supply from New England, it was expedient to abandon the enterprise altogether. The British fleet accordingly set sail for England, where it had hardly arrived, when one of its vessels, the *Edgar*, a ship of seventy guns, with a crew of four hundred men, blew up ; and as all the admiral's papers and journals were on board of her at the time, the real circumstances of the expedition and the causes of its failure were never satisfactorily explained. Admiral Walker and the other English officers endeavoured to exculpate themselves, by reproaching the provincial governments with unnecessary delay in raising their forces and victualing the fleet, and with negligence in supplying unskilful pilots.

Nothing could be more unjust or more irritating to the colonists than such calumnious charges. The Whigs in England generally censured the ministry for the conduct of the enterprise : and Harley, Earl of Oxford, although a member of the ministerial cabinet by which it was undertaken, subsequently affirmed, in a memorial to the queen, that the whole affair was a contrivance of Lord Bolingbroke and the Lord Chancellor Harcourt to defraud the public of twenty thousand pounds. Lord Harcourt, in particular, was reported to have said that " no government was worth serving that would not admit of such jobs."

In America, the failure of the enterprise and the circumstances with which it was attended excited the keenest emotions of grief and indignation. Retorting the injustice with which they were calumniated by the English commanders, many of the colonists declared their conviction that they had been wantonly duped, betrayed, and pillaged by the queen and her officers ; they insisted, with more circumstantial plausibility than so violent an imputation might be thought to admit, that the disaster in the river St. Lawrence was wilfully incurred ; and some persons entertained farther the monstrous conjecture that the Edgar had been designedly blown up in order to conceal the documents of disgrace and treachery from public view. Persons of greater moderation rejoiced, in the midst of their pecuniary embarrassments, that none of the provincial troops had perished. A journal of all the relative proceedings of the New England governments and their forces was transmitted by Massachusetts to the queen ; and three of the pilots were sent to Britain, in the hope that they would be examined by a court of inquiry. But no public investigation whatever took place of the causes of the disastrous issue of the expedition. Many pious people in New England, astonished at the numerous disappointments of their favorite project, renounced all farther expectation of the conquest of Canada ; concluding that it was not the design of Providence that the northern continent of America should ever wholly belong to any one European nation.¹

¹ Charlevoix. Smollett's *History of England*. Oldmixon. Hutchinson. W. Smith. S. Smith. Trumbull. Belknap. Proud. Holmes.

At New York, the public disappointment was aggravated by the apprehension of vindictive hostilities from the enemy. The most active endeavours were now employed by numerous emissaries of the French authorities in Canada to seduce the Five Nations from their attachment to Britain; and nothing could have more effectually contributed to aid their machinations than the recent instances of the retreat of the English from an encounter with the forces of France. Even the wisest of the Indian tribes were rather susceptible of politic impressions, than equal to the comprehension, espousal, and steady prosecution of an extended scheme of judicious and considerate policy. Strong symptoms of disaffection were manifested by some of the confederated tribes; and demonstrations were even made of an intention to embrace the French interest and declare war against England. This extremity, however, was eluded for the present; though the probability of its occurrence at a subsequent period was strengthened by an event which distinguished the following year, and which at once augmented the forces of the Indian confederacy, and communicated to it an additional savor of unfriendly feeling towards the English.

The province of North Carolina, which had been totally sequestered from the hostilities by which so many of her sister colonies were harassed, now sustained a severe and dangerous blow from a conspiracy of the Coree and Tuscarora tribes of Indians [1712], who, resenting a real or supposed encroachment on their hunting lands, formed an alliance and project, with amazing secrecy and guile, for the total destruction of the European settlements in their neighbourhood. A general attack, in which a hundred and thirty-seven of the colonists of North Carolina were massacred in one night,¹ gave the first intelligence of Indian displeasure and hostility. Happily, the alarm was communicated before the work of destruction proceeded farther; and, after an obstinate resistance, the colonists were able to

¹ The Indians took a number of prisoners on this occasion, among whom were John Lawson, surveyor-general of the province, and author of a descriptive account, which has been improperly termed a history, of Carolina; and Baron Graffenried, the leader of a troop of Palatine emigrants. Lawson was murdered at leisure by the savages; but Graffenried extricated himself from the same fate, to which he was designed, by persuading the Indians that he was the king or chief of a distinct tribe, lately arrived in the province, and totally unconnected with the English.

keep the enemy in check till a powerful force was despatched to their assistance by the assembly of South Carolina, and by Craven, who had recently been appointed governor of this province. An expedition was then undertaken by the combined forces of the two provinces against the hostile Indians, who were defeated with great slaughter, and compelled to abandon the country. The assembly of South Carolina appropriated four thousand pounds to the service of this war ; and during the continuance of it, the assembly of the northern province was compelled to issue bills of credit to the amount of eight thousand pounds. Before a decisive ascendancy was obtained over the Indians in North Carolina, the colonists fled from this province in such numbers, that, to prevent its entire desertion, a law was enacted prohibiting all persons from quitting the territory without a passport from the governor. In coöperation with this ordinance, the government of Virginia issued an edict, commanding that all fugitives from Carolina, unprovided with passports, should be apprehended and compelled to return.¹ Of the two Indian tribes which were expelled from the vicinity of North Carolina, the Tuscarora fugitives proposed, and were permitted by the Five Nations, to repair their broken political estate by engrafting it on this powerful confederacy : and as, in consequence of a supposition (founded on similarity of language) of their being a cognate race derived from the stock to which they now re-annexed themselves, they were associated as a new member of the general union, instead of being intermingled with any particular portion of it, the confederacy soon after obtained the name of *The Six Nations*.²

The frontiers of New England still continued to sustain occasional ravages from the incursions of the Indian allies of the French. Without the actual experience of similar calamity, the inhabitants of New York endured the continual apprehension of it ; and their uneasiness derived no small increase from a series of disputes with Governor Hunter, which at first threaten-

¹ W. Smith. Hewit. Williamson. To defray the expenses of their military operations, as well as to promote domestic trade, the assembly of South Carolina now established a public bank, which issued bills of credit that were lent at interest on landed or personal security. By the same assembly the common law of England was declared to be the common law of South Carolina. Hewit. Drayton's *View of South Carolina*.

² Colden's *History of the Five Nations*.

ed to render his administration extremely unpopular. This man, the fugitive apprentice of an apothecary of his native country of Scotland, had enlisted in the British army as a common soldier. His wit recommended him to the friendship of Swift and Addison ; and the graces of his person and manners enabled him to marry a peeress, by whose interest he was advanced to the dignity of governor of New York. In one of his first speeches to the assembly, he signified to them a repetition of the queen's commands, that they should attach an augmented and permanent salary to his office ; vainly attempting to cloak the obnoxious purpose of rendering the governor independent of the people, by protesting that her Majesty was actuated solely by a tender regard to her colonial subjects, and an anxious desire to relieve them from the oppressive burden of occasional and uncertain grants to her officers ; and asserting, with little regard to accuracy, that the royal wishes in this respect had received a cheerful and grateful compliance from every other colony in North America. The people of New York, he declared, had been distinguished above all the other provincials by an extraordinary measure of the queen's bounty and care ; and he advised them to express their sense of this grace by suitable returns, "lest some insinuations, much repeated of late years, should gain credit at last, that, however your resentment has fallen upon the *governor*, it is the *government* you dislike." "It is necessary, at this time," he continued, "that you be told, also, that giving money for the support of government, and disposing of it at your pleasure, is the same with giving none at all. Her Majesty is the sole judge of the merits of her servants." He concluded with a hint that they were to obey and not argue with him, by observing,— "If I have tired you by a long speech, I shall make amends by putting you to the trouble of a very short answer." The arbitrary tone of this harangue, coupled with an encroachment which the provincial council attempted shortly after on the privileges of the assembly, and which they supported by a declaration that the assembly, like the council, existed "by the mere grace of the crown,"¹ threatened to revive all the disgust that had been excited by Lord Cornbury's administration.

¹ This pretension was never abandoned by the British court, which, in con-

The assembly refused to comply with the governor's demand, and adhered to their favorite system of providing by temporary arrangements for the expenses of government. To the doctrine propounded by the council they opposed a spirited resolution, importing that the council, indeed, not consisting, like the English House of Lords, of a distinct order or rank of persons in the constitution, owed *their* functions to the mere pleasure of the crown; but that the assembly enjoyed *its* privileges, and especially its exclusive control over the public money, by inherent right, derived "not from any commission, letters patent, or other grant from the crown, but from the free choice and election of the people, who ought not to be divested of their property (nor justly can) without their consent." Hunter, who was exceedingly bent on accumulating a fortune, and was often reduced to straits by the failure of gambling speculations which he pursued for this purpose, found means to increase his emoluments by establishing a provincial court of chancery, in which he himself presided as judge. This was resented by the assembly as an unconstitutional act of power, inferring dangerous consequences to the liberty and properties of the colonists. But the dissensions which seemed likely to ensue from these occurrences were intercepted by the policy of the governor and the generosity of the people, whose conduct plainly showed that a resolute spirit is by no means incompatible with moderation and placability. Hunter — prudently lowering the haughty tone which he at first assumed, expressing both in New York and New Jersey an increased deference to the public will, and cultivating popularity by the exercise of those graceful accomplishments which had elevated him from the obscurity of his primi-

formity with the opinions of the crown lawyers, maintained that the constitutions of all the unchartered provinces arose from and depended upon the mere will and pleasure of the king. "On a question from New Jersey, in 1723, with respect to the number of representatives from certain counties or places, the attorney-general, Raymond, advised the king that he might regulate the number to be sent from each place, or might *restrain them from sending any, at his pleasure*. In 1747, on a similar question from New Hampshire, the crown lawyers, Ryder and Murray, informed his Majesty that the *right* of sending representatives to the assembly was founded originally on the commissions and instructions given by the crown to the governors of New Hampshire." Pitkin. These questions, Pitkin very justly observes, could be settled only by a revolution.

tive condition—succeeded in establishing a harmonious correspondence with the provincial assembly, and in rendering himself the object of general and even affectionate regard.¹

The conduct of Great Britain during the war was productive of disappointment and disgust to all the American colonies to which the sphere of hostilities extended ; and the intelligence which now arrived of the peace of Utrecht was far from communicating general satisfaction. [1713.] Many of the colonists united with the English Whigs in regarding the treaty, which Britain concluded on this occasion with France and Spain, as a treacherous desertion of the allies, and of the purposes she had pledged herself to support, and as a preparatory step to the great design of the Tories to counteract the principle of the British Revolution, and exalt the Pretender to the throne of his ancestors, on the demise of the queen. Some articles in the treaty of peace related expressly to America. The conquered settlement in Annapolis, with the relative province of Acadia or Nova Scotia, was ceded to England, but the French were permitted to retain a settlement at Cape Breton ; the Five Nations, or, as they came now to be termed, the Six Nations, were recognized as the subjects of England ; and the French and English governments respectively engaged not to molest or interfere with the other Indian tribes, claimed as the subjects of either of the crowns. But the appropriation of this latter provision, as well as the precise definition of the boundaries of Nova Scotia and of the territories of the Six Nations, were deferred for the present by common consent, and with a great defect of good policy on the part of England. After numerous ineffectual attempts of the Duke of Shrewsbury and Prior the poet, who were the English plenipotentiaries, to adjust these important points with the ministers of France, they were professedly remitted to the adjudication of commissioners to be subsequently appointed, and practically reserved as the subjects of future contention. One of the provisions of the treaty reflects the deepest dishonor on the commercial policy of England, and illustrates the deplorable change that English sentiment and opinion had undergone on the subject of the

¹ W. Smith. S. Smith.

slave-trade, since the sceptre of this kingdom had last been swayed by a female sovereign.¹ A French mercantile corporation, established in the year 1701, with the title of the Assiento Company, or Royal Company of Guinea, had contracted to supply the Spanish settlements in South America with negroes, in conformity with a relative treaty between the crowns of France and Spain.² By the treaty of Utrecht, the Assiento contract, as it was termed, was transferred from the French to the merchants of England; the king of Spain granting to them for thirty years the exclusive privilege of supplying his colonies with negroes; and Queen Anne (who had already signalized her patronage of the slave-trade³) engaging that her subjects should, during that period, transport to the Spanish Indies one hundred and forty-four thousand of what were called, in trade language, *Indian pieces*, by which was meant *negro slaves*, on certain specified terms, and at the rate of four thousand and eight hundred negroes a year.⁴ For such purposes, *the Most Catholic King*, as the Spanish monarch was proud to style himself, and *the Defender of the Faith*, as the Protestant sovereign of England was denominated, could lay aside their religious and political jealousies and unite in terms of commercial amity.

When the peace of Utrecht was known in America, the Indians who adjoined and had so long harassed the eastern frontiers of New England, perceiving that they must no longer expect assistance from the French, or the Canadian tribes dependent upon France, sent a deputation to the government of New Hampshire, to propose that friendship might also be reëstablished between the English and them, and that a conference for this purpose should be holden at Casco. But Dudley judged

¹ See the account of the rise of the slave-trade, *ante*, Book I., Chap. I.

² It was entitled, "*Traité fait entre les deux rois très chrétien et catholique avec la compagnie royale de Guinée établie en France, concernant l'introduction des Nègres dans l'Amérique.*" Holmes.

³ See the royal instructions to Lord Cornbury, *ante*, Book VI.

⁴ This arrangement ended in the ruin of the British merchants who attempted to take advantage of it. It was stipulated that they should have leave to erect a factory on the Plata, and that, in case of war between England and Spain, eighteen months should be allowed to them for the removal of their effects. But on the breaking out of the war excited by Cardinal Alberoni, when as yet the British traders had made but one voyage, their persons and their property were instantly seized by the Spanish government.

it more accordant with the dignity of his government, that the Indian delegates should attend the English commissioners at Portsmouth ; and there, accordingly, the chiefs of the several hostile tribes again executed a formal treaty, wherein they acknowledged the repeated perfidy they had committed, besought the queen's pardon for their unprovoked rebellion, and engaged to demean themselves in future as faithful and obedient subjects of the British crown. [July 13, 1713.] The frequent repetition and no less frequent breaches of these engagements had by this time much impaired the sense of obligation on the one side, and of confidence on the other. Both parties, however, had suffered so greatly from the war, as to render a present deliverance from its evils mutually welcome ; and with the view of preventing its recurrence, and obviating the most ordinary occasions of quarrel and complaint, the provincial governments prohibited the colonists from holding private traffic with the Indians, and undertook to establish barter-houses, where public agents should be appointed to conduct or superintend all the commercial transactions between the two races of people. Unfortunately, this judicious purpose was not at present carried into effect.¹

The war proved exceedingly burdensome to all the American provinces which engaged in it, and left the New England States, New York, and South Carolina embarrassed with the debts they had contracted to defray the expense of their military operations. None of the other provinces suffered so severely as Massachusetts and New Hampshire. It was ascertained, during the eighteenth century, that, from the mere progress of native increase, a term of twenty-five years was generally sufficient to double the population of the North American colonies. But during the latter part of the seventeenth and the earlier part of the eighteenth century, the principle of increase was less efficient in Massachusetts and New Hampshire than in any of the other colonial settlements ; and in the year 1713, Massachusetts did not contain double the number of inhabitants which it possessed fifty years before. The heavy taxes, occasioned by the wars which prevailed dur-

¹ Smollett. W. Smith. Hutchinson. Belknap.

ing that period, doubtless induced some of the inhabitants to transfer their residence to other provinces ; but the actual carnage of war appears to have chiefly contributed to repress the growth of people. From the year 1675, when Philip's War began, till the close of Queen Anne's War, in 1713, about six thousand of the youth of the country had perished by the stroke of the enemy, or by distempers contracted in military service. From the frequency and fertility of marriages in New England, nine tenths of these men, if they had been spared to their country, would have become fathers of families, and in the course of forty years have multiplied to nearly a hundred thousand souls.

But the financial burdens entailed by the late war bequeathed mischiefs more durable and afflicting than the regret occasioned by the destruction of life. In imitation of the policy of Britain, most of the colonies adopted the practice of mortgaging their resources for the purpose of raising larger military supplies than immediate taxation could produce ; and a copious issue of paper money enabled the provincial governments to render the future tributary to the present, and extend the consumption of war to wealth not yet realized. This dangerous practice was carried to a great extent in Massachusetts, where the current paper money very soon underwent a considerable depreciation, and produced much commercial fraud and gambling.¹ Public engagements which had been contracted, or at least en-

¹ "A public credit paper currency," says Dr. Douglass, of Boston, "is a great promoter of military expeditions. I have observed that all our paper-money-making assemblies have been legislatures of *debtors*, the representatives of people who, from incogitancy, idleness, and profuseness, have been under a necessity of mortgaging their lands. Lands are a real, permanent estate ; but the debt, in paper currency, by its multiplication, depreciates more and more. Thus their land estate, in nominal value, increases, and their debt, in nominal value, decreases ; and the large quantity of paper money is proportionably in favor of the debtors, and to the disadvantage of the creditors, or industrious, frugal part of the colony. This is the wicked mystery of this iniquitous paper currency." — Douglass's *Summary*. An American writer far superior in sense and genius to Douglass, after a forcible exhibition of the evils of a large emission of paper money, remarks, that, "on the other hand, it was the occasion of good to many ; it was at all times the poor man's friend. While it was current, all kinds of labor very readily found their reward ; none were idle from want of employment, and none were employed without having it in their power to obtain ready payment of their services. No agrarian law ever had a more extensive operation. The poor became rich, and the rich became poor. Young persons were taught by salutary lessons to depend rather on their own industry and activity than on paternal acquisitions." Ramsay's *American Revolution*.

larged, on the principle of evading the immediate pressure of their burden, found no generation willing fairly to fulfil them ; and an increasing reluctance was naturally created by the lapse of time, and by the interest acquired by stock-jobbers and knavish speculators in various delusive expedients by which the public were induced to temporize with the evil, and which, seeming at first to palliate, always eventually increased its malignity. The pernicious influence thus exercised on the character of a numerous portion of the inhabitants of Massachusetts obtained an unhappy coöperation from the idleness and vice which a military life promotes in its followers, and from the faction and intrigue engendered by Dudley's administration.

In Connecticut, the evils that attended the progress, and remained to be endured after the cessation of the war, proved a great deal less afflicting, from the energy of wisdom and virtue that was exerted to counteract them. The assembly of this province had labored during the war, by extending education and cultivating an increased strictness in the practice of moral and religious duties, to resist the contagion of that profaneness and impiety congenial to the habits and propagated by the example of soldiers. To facilitate the exertions of the clergy, they were released from all public taxes ; and a similar exemption was extended for a certain number of years to all infant towns and settlements, on condition of their forthwith erecting institutions for religious education. Voluntary associations were formed to animate the public zeal ; and addresses were circulated by these bodies, recommending " that there be a strict inquiry which and what are the sins and evils that provoke the just majesty of Heaven to walk contrary unto us in the ways of his providence ; that thereby all possible means may be used for our healing and recovery from our degeneracy." For a considerable period of time, both during and subsequent to the war, the acts of the government of Connecticut consisted chiefly of a series of pious and judicious measures for cherishing religion and morality, and for discharging the public engagements that had been contracted by the issue of paper money. The government of Massachusetts was by no means entirely negligent of similar attempts to elevate and purify the character of its people. A few years after the

peace of Utrecht, the pernicious institution of lotteries, which had been created by the spirit of gambling, and was contributing to spread and strengthen it by exercise, was suppressed by the assembly of Massachusetts; which at the same time passed a law restoring the primitive ordinances against idleness and immorality, and enacting that "no single persons of either sex, under the age of twenty-one years, shall be suffered to live at their own hand, but under some orderly family government." But in Connecticut, piety was now more widely and warmly prevalent than in Massachusetts; and was happily preserved from the insidious and depraving influence of domestic faction and political intrigue. The leading persons in Connecticut, too, were distinguished by the soundness of their views and the prudence and vigor of their measures in relation to the circulating medium of the province. A stable currency they clearly perceived to be essential alike to the civil and the moral prosperity of every commonwealth. Without it, the principles of commutative justice are unhinged, and the property and rights of the citizens rendered insecure. It serves to guard public morality by withholding numerous temptations to injustice, and disabling gamblers and speculators from perpetrating those frauds to which a fluctuating state of the currency affords scope and temptation. An unstable and depreciating currency is an engine of public injustice, imposing an unfair and injurious tax on the sober and industrious part of every community where it prevails. It disappoints all men, who are supported by salaries, of a part of their due; and tempts debtors to defraud their creditors, by withholding payment of their debts as long as possible, and then paying them with paper depreciated far below its nominal value.¹ It tends thus to impoverish the fair-dealing, laborious, and useful members of society, for the benefit of dishonest adventurers, whose gains and practices it is the interest of society to discourage; and in these and a great variety of other ways, proves a source of public and private injustice, and of incalculable injury to the

¹ "The Novanglians in general, the Rhode Islanders in particular," says Dr. McSparran, a writer whom we shall afterwards have occasion to notice, "are the only people on earth who have hit on the art of enriching themselves by running in debt."

morals of a people. Sensible of these truths, the legislature of Connecticut acted with the most scrupulous caution in limiting the issues of their bills of credit, and with the strictest honor and resolution in providing funds and imposing taxes for their seasonable redemption. The consequence of this wise policy (aided by the general addiction of the people to agricultural instead of mercantile pursuits) was, that, amidst the gambling and embarrassments that prevailed in Massachusetts, there was no redundance and little or no depreciation of the circulating medium in Connecticut, where a well regulated issue of paper money proved rather beneficial than injurious to the industry and prosperity of the people.¹

Various statutory enactments relative to the American colonies were framed by the parent state since the accession of Queen Anne. The ship-builders of England had long depended for their chief supplies of pitch and tar on Sweden, which, in the year 1703, was so blind to her own interest as to confer a monopoly of this important commerce on a mercantile corporation. The sudden and unreasonable increase in the price of those commodities, which ensued upon this measure, suggested to the English merchants and ministers the policy of drawing the national supplies of them from a different quarter; and the result of their deliberations was the adoption of a parliamentary statute,² in 1704, for encouraging the importation of naval stores from the American plantations. It was stated in the preamble of this act, that the stores required for the mercantile shipping and the royal navy of England were imported from foreign states, but might be obtained more advantageously from certain quarters of the queen's own dominions, and in particular from the American colonies, which, says the act, "*were at first settled, and are still maintained and protected, at a great expense of the treasure of this kingdom, with a design to render them as useful as may be to England, and the labor and industry of the people there profitable to themselves.*" Truth was never more grossly outraged than by this pretence of the expenditure of the public resources of England in founding and protecting colonies, of which

¹ Hutchinson. W. Smith. Trumbull. Holmes.

² 3 and 4 Anne, Cap. X. Raynal.

every one (except New York) was gained to the English empire by the unaided efforts of private individuals ; all of which had defended themselves, without assistance from the parent state ; and most of which were actually struggling with the expense and danger of a war in which the parent state herself had involved them. Premiums were tendered by this statute to all persons who should import (in vessels manned according to the requirements of the Acts of Navigation) into England, from America, masts, tar, hemp, and other naval stores ; and in order to secure the materials of a part of this supply, the colonists of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, and New Jersey were prohibited, under high penalties, from cutting down any pitch, pine, or tar trees, of certain dimensions, growing on lands not already appropriated by private owners, and actually inclosed within their fences. By a subsequent act of the British parliament,¹ in the year 1710, the surveyor-general of the royal woods in those parts was required to affix a mark on the trees which he considered fit for naval purposes ; and all persons, presuming to cut down trees so marked, were subjected to a heavy fine. In the year 1707, an act² was passed by the British parliament “for encouraging the trade to North America.” The chief purpose of this act was to regulate the duties payable by the captors of hostile vessels carried into American ports, and to confer upon mariners employed in merchant-ships trading to any of the North American settlements a temporary exemption from impressment into the service of the royal navy.

¹ 9 Anne, Cap. XVII.

² 6 Anne, Cap. XXXVII.

CHAPTER II.

Affairs of Virginia — Passage across the Appalachian Mountains ascertained. — Affairs of New England — Attempt to subvert the New England Charters. — Indian War in South Carolina. — Affairs of Pennsylvania — Administration of Sir William Keith. — Affairs of Carolina — Piracy on the American Coasts. — Theach, or Blackbeard, the Pirate. — Revolt of South Carolina against its Proprietary Government. — Affairs of New York — Administration of Burnet. — South Sea Scheme and commercial Gambling in Britain. — Affairs of New England — Administration of Shute — Disputes — and War with the Indians. — Massachusetts incurs the Displeasure of the King — and receives an explanatory Charter. — Dispute respecting fixed Salary between the Assembly and Royal Governor — terminates in Favor of the Assembly. — Affairs of New York. — Transactions in Carolina — Surrender of the Charter of Carolina to the Crown. — Affairs of Pennsylvania. — British Legislation. — Bishop Berkeley's Project.

VIRGINIA and Maryland were the only two of the North American provinces, which, during the period that elapsed from the British Revolution till the peace of Utrecht [1713], enjoyed an entire exemption from the cost and the spoil of war. On the removal of Nicholson from the presidency of Virginia in 1704, this dignity was conferred as a sinecure office on George, Earl of Orkney, who enjoyed it for thirty-six years, and received forty-two thousand pounds of salary¹ from a people who never once beheld him among them. This arrangement, notwithstanding the praise which it obtained from some courtly writers and politicians,² appears discreditable

¹ The annual salary was two thousand pounds, of which one thousand two hundred pounds was paid to the earl as chief governor, and eight hundred pounds to the lieutenant-governor, who was also appointed by the crown.

² Sir William Keith, in particular, who, though he admits that worthless and incapable men were frequently appointed by the British court to the government of the American colonies, extols the appointment of Lord Orkney, as a measure which must have proved beneficial to the Virginians, by rendering a powerful courtier the advocate of their interests in England. But "I must own," says Oldmixon, in reference to the doctrine of Keith, "I have different sentiments of the fitness of a nobleman to be agent for a colony in England; and as the inhabitants of the American colonies have a natural right to the protection of their mother state in all cases, and do otherwise pay well for it, they surely will never stand in need of any other mediation than the justice and reason of the thing."

alike to the justice and the wisdom of the parent state, which encumbered the colonists with the attendant burdens, without entertaining them with the show and splendor, of aristocratical institutions. But the mischievous effects of this policy were counteracted by the wisdom and prudence of the lieutenants to whom the actual administration of the government was confided by the English ministry. Edward Nott, the first of these, was rendered acceptable to the colonists by the moderation of his sentiments and the mildness of his manners ; and, in the year 1710, he was succeeded by Colonel Alexander Spottiswoode, a Scottish gentleman of upright and honorable character, who had already distinguished himself by his attainments in science and his military valor and skill, and who now acquired additional celebrity by the ardor of his exertions and the genius and compass of his views for the improvement of the condition of Virginia, and the enlargement and security of the British empire in America. He applied his mathematical knowledge to the construction of roads and other works of public utility and convenience ; he promoted establishments for the education of the Indians, and introduced the most judicious regulations of the Indian trade.

Outstripping the sagacity of all the contemporary politicians of Britain, Spottiswoode was the first of his countrymen who penetrated the great design of France for uniting her scattered settlements in America, which, though explicitly unfolded at a later period, was still, and continued for many years after to be, disguised from general perception by the insignificance of its initial operations. His attention was early directed to the means of extending the western frontier of Virginia, in order to intercept the communication of the French between Canada and the Mississippi. For this purpose it was necessary, as a preliminary step, to explore a practicable route over the Appalachian Mountains, — an object which had formerly engaged the consideration, but baffled the exertions, of Sir William Berkeley. The French alone were acquainted with the geography and resources of the regions beyond those mountains ; and they made it a capital maxim of their American policy that this knowledge should be carefully withheld from the English, who had no farther acquaintance with the country than what they

derived from the imperfect reports of a few straggling travellers and erratic savages. It had long been a prevalent opinion with the Virginians, that an insurmountable barrier to their progress was interposed by the Appalachian Mountains, whose rugged and desolate heights were trodden only by the wolf, the bear, the panther, and the Indians. Animated, however, by the spirit of Governor Spottiswoode, the assembly of Virginia consented to defray the expense of an expedition, which he offered personally to lead, for the discovery of a passage over this long respected barrier ; and which, being reinforced by the accession of some of the most considerable persons in the province, who desired to partake the peril and honor of the attempt, was conducted with a great deal of parade and solemnity. The enterprise was crowned with success ; a passage across the Appalachian ridge ascertained [1714] ; and an increasing scope of British colonization suggested by a view of the fertile and beautiful region of which the barrier was thus surmounted, and which, as it was beheld for the first time by the colonists from the summits of the mountains, appeared to stretch on every side to an immeasurable distance.

When the public solicitude, which had been strongly excited by the supposed danger and difficulty of the expedition, was dispelled by the safe return of the adventurers, with the tidings of their successful achievement, Spottiswoode was hailed by the Virginians with acclamations of grateful, and, indeed, hyperbolical praise, which exalted him to an approach to the glory of Hannibal. His genius, however, was most conspicuously displayed in a project of which the honor was greater than the success. The passage of the Appalachian Mountains, and the knowledge he acquired of the territory beyond them, suggested to him the means of anticipating and defeating the latent purposes of aggrandizement which he discerned in the colonial enterprise of the French ; and in a memorial to the British government, he predicted the course of operations, by which the system of the rival power, unless seasonably counteracted, would be progressively developed ; and strongly, but vainly, suggested the precautionary measure of constructing a chain of forts along a line and in positions which he himself had examined with the eye of a skilful engineer. His con-

jectures were subsequently verified ; and the event more fully demonstrated his sagacity than if readier credit had been given to it. No better success attended the counsels he repeatedly addressed to the British government to adopt the prudent and liberal policy of indemnifying the Virginians for the expenses of the Appalachian expedition, — a policy which the parent state might have plainly perceived to be essential to her dignity and her consideration with the colonists, and which she could not neglect without suggesting to them the idea of distinct and separate interests. With less wisdom, Spottiswoode himself established a temporary order of knighthood in Virginia, under the title of “ The Tramontane Order, or the Knights of the Golden Horseshoe.” Each of the knights was entitled to wear a golden horseshoe on his breast, as a mark of distinction for having surmounted the Appalachian ridge. For many years after the expedition, this province continued to advance in a steady, but silent and monotonous, course of increasing culture and population, — so barren of remarkable incident, and so totally destitute of the irradiation of literature, that an ingenious historian has termed this the Dark Age of Virginia.¹ During this mute, inglorious interval, however, the foundations of national strength and greatness were securely laid ; and a generation of statesmen, orators, patriots, and heroes begotten.

The accession of George the First to the British throne excited very little interest in any of the North American provinces, except New England, where it was joyfully hailed as a triumph of revolutionary principles over the views and designs which the Tories had entertained, and hoped to accomplish on the demise of Queen Anne. In consequence of this event, the English friends of Governor Dudley were deprived of their interest at court, and the government of Massachusetts and New Hampshire was shortly after withdrawn from his hands, and conferred on Colonel Burgess, as a recompense of this officer's

¹ Oldmixon. Carver's *Travels in North America*. Wynne. Burk. Campbell. The historian of *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, in alluding to a particular era, ascribes to it “ *the rare advantage* of furnishing very few materials for history ; which is, indeed, little more than the register of the crimes, follies, and misfortunes of mankind.” Gibbon. This is a just enough view of the actuality, but not of the capability, of history. Every social scene presents a spectacle and movement which genius and opportunity might interestingly portray. It is easier to paint a hilly than a flat landscape.

services in the late continental campaigns of the British army. [1715.] This intelligence was wholly unexpected by Dudley, who had lately gained a considerable accession to his provincial partisans ; but it announced a fall from which he could not hope to rise again ; and calmly resigning himself to the final farewell of ambition, hope, and political fortune, he withdrew for ever from public life ; bequeathing to his country a long continuance of party rage and cabal ; and having excited a vehement jealousy of British prerogative, which lasted as long as the connection between Massachusetts and the parent state. The last official acts which terminated his administration seemed to denote an extinction in his own bosom of the interests and animosities which he had hitherto cherished, and graced his political demise with an unwonted show of forgiving mildness and liberality.¹ Sir William Ashurst and Jeremiah Dummer, the agents for the province at London, conceived somehow an apprehension that the appointment of Burgess would prove unacceptable to the colonists ; and in conjunction with Jonathan Belcher, a wealthy inhabitant of Massachusetts, who was in England at the time, endeavoured to prevail with him to resign his pretensions in favor of another individual. Burgess, in consideration of one thousand pounds, which was contributed for the purpose by Belcher and Dummer, consented to gratify their wish ; and the office, thus again vacated, was conferred on Colonel Shute, who, in addition to the reputation of principles friendly to liberty, and of a humane and generous temper, enjoyed the advantage of being connected with that party in England which was most esteemed by the colonists, and formed their chief engine of influence at the British court. He was the descendant of a family long distinguished among the dissenters from the established church ; and his brother, afterwards Lord Barrington, was at this time a member of parliament and a leading supporter of what was termed the *Dissenting interest* in England. Shute had served with distinction under the Duke of Marlborough in Germany ; and the address with which his arrival at Boston was greeted

¹ He died in the year 1720, at the age of seventy-three. He was an accomplished scholar, and proved a zealous patron and liberal benefactor of Harvard College.

by the provincial assembly contained a flattering allusion to the honorable wounds he had received in the cause of liberty and religion. Tranquillity and harmony attended the commencement of his administration.

But the satisfaction with which the colonists of New England beheld the accession of the House of Hanover to the throne, and which a wise policy might have improved to the advantage of the parent state, was soon diminished by measures which demonstrated to them that their liberties were no dearer to the new dynasty than they had been to the old. In the very first year of the king's reign, a bill was introduced into the British parliament for abolishing all the charters of the various provinces of New England. Connecticut, on this occasion, distinguished herself by her exertions in the common cause. Her alarm was increased by the coöperation which the enemies of American liberty received from the descendant of the Winthrops, who was discontented, because an honorable reputation was the sole reward of the patriotic virtue of his ancestors. But his defection was more than counterbalanced by the generosity and public spirit of Governor Saltonstall, who, enjoying a large pecuniary credit in England, cheerfully transferred the command of it to the province and its English agent, and risked all his fortune in defence of the liberties of his country.

Dummer, the provincial agent, was instructed to employ every possible engine of influence to defeat the bill, and to spare no expense for this purpose. He was also employed to compose and publish a *Defence of the New England Charters*; and, being an accomplished and ingenious man, he acquitted himself of this duty in a manner highly creditable to himself and satisfactory to his constituents. He maintained that the colonists of New England, by the dangers and difficulties they had braved and surmounted for the enlargement of the British empire and commerce, had given a valuable consideration to the parent state for all the benefits that her charters conferred; that these benefits consisted solely of the privileges attached to the provincial constitutions; for the property of the soil had been purchased by the colonists themselves from the aboriginal inhabitants, to whom, and not to England, it rightfully be-

longed; and hence, to abolish the provincial constitutions was to defraud the colonists of all the stipulated reward that they had earned from the parent state, and accepted in reliance on her honor and justice. He derided the supposed expediency of guarding against the independence of the colonies; protesting that a father might as rationally propose to plant a guard of soldiers around his new-born child, to prevent the infant from sallying from its cradle to cut his throat; and that, besides the feebleness of their estate, the several colonies were so much estranged from each other by religious and political distinctions, that it was impossible they should ever unite in an enterprise of so much magnitude and danger as opposition to Great Britain.¹ By the cogency of these arguments, and the powerful support which the colonial cause received from the English Dissenters, the promoters of the bill were ultimately compelled to withdraw it. Nothing could have been devised of more effectual tendency to foster in America the growth of sentiments and ideas unfavorable to British supremacy, than the prosecution and the failure of such projects; which left the colonists in possession of the animating impulse and enjoyment of liberty, and taught them, at the same time, to regard it as a benefit they had preserved by resistance to the wishes and pretensions of the parent state. Disputes of such a nature, and so adjusted, have a procreative faculty, and invariably leave behind them a quarrelsome posterity of jealousies and discontents.

New Hampshire, not possessing a charter, had been no farther interested in the attempt which was thus defeated, than as it betokened the encroaching policy of the British government and the general insecurity of American liberty. But a spirit of discontent and opposition was now provoked in this

¹ "It is for this reason I have often wondered to hear some great men profess their belief of the feasibility of it, and the probability of its some time or other actually coming to pass, who yet with the same breath advise that all the governments on the continent be formed into one, by being brought under one viceroy and into one assembly. For, surely, if we in earnest believed that there was, or would be hereafter, a disposition in the provinces to rebel and declare themselves independent, it would be good policy to keep them disunited; because, if it were possible that they could contrive so wild and rash an undertaking, yet they would not be hardy enough to put it in execution, unless they could first strengthen themselves by a confederacy of all the parts." *Dummer's Defence of the New England Charters.*

province by the conduct of the individual who was appointed the deputy of Colonel Shute. George Vaughan, the son of one of the most popular and public-spirited citizens of New Hampshire, had been employed for some time as the provincial agent at London, where he forsook the interests of his constituents, and cultivated the favor of the court, by suggesting measures calculated for the advancement of the royal authority. In a memorial which he presented to the king and ministry, he recommended the extension of the *land-tax* of Great Britain to New England; and, proposing that a receiver of this tribute should forthwith be appointed by the crown, devised an office which he probably hoped would be conferred on himself. His counsel was not embraced; but his subserviency was rewarded by the royal appointment of deputy-governor of New Hampshire. Here the peremptory style in which he admonished the assembly to establish a perpetual revenue to the crown excited general disgust and impatience, which he increased by his arbitrary conduct in suspending counsellors and dissolving assemblies.¹ Happily for the peace of the province, his administration was but shortlived. Prompted by vaulting ambition and insolent confidence, he attempted to restrict the control which Shute was entitled to exercise by his superior command; and asserted his own rival pretensions in a style so impetuous and disrespectful, that Shute was provoked to suspend him from his office. Vaughan then found that he had presumed too far on the support of the British court. The justice of the case, and the stronger interest of Shute, caused him to be divested of his ill-earned dignity, which was conferred on John Wentworth, a wealthy and respectable inhabitant of New Hampshire. The spirit that was thus excited in this province was probably the cause

¹ One of his speeches at the council board of New Hampshire is preserved by Belknap, and forms a most ridiculous specimen of pompous pretension, domineering insolence, and bombastic elocution. Personal slanders against himself he declares to be unworthy of his regard, — “but when revenge’s mother utters bold challenges, raiseth batteries, and begins to cannonade the powers established by my sovereign, I acknowledge myself alarmed, which I will in no wise tolerate or endure.” — “I cannot but wonder at the arrogance and pride of those who do not consider I am a superior match, as being armed with power from my prince, who doth execution at the utterance of a word,” &c.

why Shute was unable to obtain, like his predecessor, a fixed salary from its assembly.¹

The province of South Carolina was this year reduced to the brink of ruin by an extensive conspiracy of Indian tribes, which exploded in a furious and formidable war [1715], inflicting a bloody retribution of the wrongs that the Indian race sustained heretofore from the planters of Carolina. The numerous and powerful tribe of the Yamassees, who possessed a large territory adjacent to Port Royal Island, stretching along the northeast side of Savannah River, were the most active promoters of the conspiracy. By the Carolinians this tribe had long been regarded as friends and allies; they admitted English traders to reside in their towns, assisted the military enterprises of the colonists, and displayed a fierce and inveterate enmity towards the Spaniards. For many years they were accustomed to make incursions into the Spanish territories, for the purpose of warring with their own Indian enemies in that region. In their return from these southern expeditions, it was a frequent practice with them to lurk in the woods round Augustine, till they surprised some of the Spaniards, whom they carried off as prisoners to their towns, and put to death with the most barbarous and excruciating tortures. To prevent such atrocities from being committed and endured by human beings, the legislature of South Carolina passed a law offering a reward of five pounds for every Spanish prisoner whom the Indians should surrender alive and unhurt at Charleston. The Yamassees, tempted by this reward, sacrificed cruelty to avarice, and on various occasions delivered up their Spanish captives to the governor of South Carolina. Charles Craven, who now held this office, was distinguished alike by humanity and valor. He invariably sent back the ransomed prisoners to Augustine, charging the governor of this settlement with the expenses of their passage and the reward to the Yamassees. But this practice, while it illus-

¹ Oldmixon. Hutchinson. Trumbull. Dummer's *Defence*, &c. There is a great deal of interesting information and ingenious argument in Dummer's little tract. Belknap. John Wentworth received his commission in 1717. "The celebrated Mr. Addison being then secretary of state, this commission is countersigned by a name particularly dear to the friends of liberty and literature." Belknap.

trated English humanity, begot an intercourse between the Indians and their ancient enemies, of which the issue was injurious in the highest degree to the interests of Carolina, and not less discreditable to Spanish honor and gratitude. The Carolinian traders among the Yamassees had observed for some time past, that the chiefs of this tribe made unusually frequent journeys to Augustine, and returned from it, not with prisoners, but with presents.

It was obvious that pacific relations were formed by the Yamassees with their enemies, without any communication of this important event to the governor of Carolina ; and at length some of the Indians were heard to boast that they had dined at the table of the governor of Augustine, that they had washed his face, in token of intimate friendship, and that they now considered him their king. As this was an honorary title which they formerly ascribed to the governor of South Carolina, the transference of it to the commander of a rival settlement ought reasonably to have excited more attention and suspicion than it appears to have done. From the jealous rivalry that subsisted between the two European races, it was impossible that the Indians should cleave to the one, without falling off from the other. But the English, at peace with the Spaniards, and remembering their recent claims on Spanish benevolence, regarded with indifference the close connection that was formed between their rivals and an apostate ally, of whose ferocious and sanguinary disposition they had received numberless proofs. A short time before the security of the Carolinians was fatally dispelled, a Scotch Highlander, named Fraser, who traded among the Yamassees, was visited by Sanute, one of these people, with whom he had contracted a solemn covenant of friendship, refreshed, on various occasions, by mutual gifts and tokens of esteem. To Fraser's wife, a beautiful woman, whom Sanute had recently admitted into the covenant by the ceremony of washing her face, he communicated the warning intelligence that Spain had completely supplanted England in the friendly regards of the Yamassees, who now acknowledged the sway and the faith of the governor of Augustine ; that they had learned to account the English a race of hell-doomed heretics, and were apprehensive of shar-

ing their spiritual perdition if they should suffer them to live any longer in the country ; that the Spaniards had confederated with the Yamassees, the Creeks, the Cherokees, and many other Indian nations, to wage a terrible war with the colonists of Carolina ; and that they waited only the return of *the bloody stick*¹ from the Creeks as the signal for its commencement. He acquitted himself of his debt of friendship by counselling Fraser and his wife to fly from the approaching danger ; offering them the use of his own boat for this purpose ; and withal assuring them, that, if they were determined to remain, he himself, at the approaching crisis, would claim from his countrymen the privilege of acting as their executioner, and would despatch them with his tomahawk, in order to prevent them from expiring in tortures.

The imputation of such designs to the Spaniards induced Fraser at first to distrust the whole story ; but, infected at last with the terrors that alarmed his wife, he collected his goods in haste, and took shelter in Charleston. Whether from his doubts, or from the hurry of his flight, he foolishly or selfishly neglected to propagate the warning he had himself received ; and no precautions were taken by his fellow-traders to avoid or repel the impending blow. But about a week afterwards, Captain Nairn, the provincial agent for Indian affairs, who resided along with several Carolinian traders at Pocotaligo, the largest town of the Yamassees, was startled by observing an unusual gloom on the savage countenances of these people, accompanied with a demeanour that indicated at once constraint and agitation of spirit. Foreboding evil from these moody symptoms, Nairn and a deputation of the traders repaired to the Indian chiefs, and begged to know the cause of their uneasiness ; assuring them, that, if they had sustained injury from any of the people of Carolina, they had only to demand, in order to obtain, redress and satisfaction. The chiefs replied, that they had no complaints whatever to make, but were busied in preparation for a *great hunt* the next morning ; and the traders, deceived by the perfidy of this enigmatical expression,

¹ This symbol ought to have the more strongly impressed Fraser, from its resemblance to the Highland ceremonial of summoning clansmen to war by sending *the fiery cross* from station to station.

retired at night to their unguarded huts, and resigned themselves to a sleep from which many of them were never to awaken. The next morning, at break of day, the cries of war resounded on all sides ; and in a few hours above ninety persons were massacred in Pocotaligo and the neighbouring settlements. A captain of militia, escaping to Port Royal, communicated the alarm to this small town ; and an English vessel happening seasonably to enter the harbour, the inhabitants rushed precipitately on board of her, and, sailing for Charleston, were narrowly snatched from destruction. A few other planters and their families on the island, not having received timely notice of the danger, fell into the hands of the savages.

While some Indian tribes were thus spreading havoc along the southern frontiers of the province, numerous parties detached by other tribes were penetrating into the settlements on the northern borders ; for every savage tribe from Florida to Cape Fear had united in the hostile confederacy. The safety of Charleston itself seemed precarious ; and the whole province was desolated by the ravage, or agitated by the rumor, of war and massacre. In the midst of the general panic, and though the muster-roll of the capital enumerated, it is said, little more than twelve hundred free men fit to bear arms, Governor Craven resolved at once to make head against the enemy. He proclaimed martial law ; laid an embargo on all ships, to prevent the transportation of aught that might be subservient to the common defence ; and obtained an act of assembly empowering him to impress men, and seize arms, ammunition, and stores, wherever they could be found ; to arm trusty negroes ; and to do every thing that might be requisite to bring the struggle to a speedy and successful issue. Agents were sent to England to solicit assistance ; and bills were stamped for the pay of the army and other necessary expenses. The application to England proved ineffectual ; neither aid to sustain the war, nor supplies to repair its ravage, being afforded by the selfish proprietaries of Carolina. Yet, in this hour of need, the people were not left entirely destitute of friendly support. North Carolina now showed her willingness to repay the seasonable succour which she obtained three years before from her sister province, and promptly despatched a body of

troops to her assistance. A liberal contribution of arms and ammunition was also furnished to South Carolina by the States of New England.

The Indian invaders who advanced from the northern quarter of the province having destroyed a settlement about fifty miles from Charleston, Captain Barker, with a party of provincial cavalry, was despatched to attack them. But, trusting to the information of an Indian guide, who betrayed him into an ambush of the enemy, this officer was circumvented and slain with several of his men; and the rest were compelled to retreat in confusion. A troop of four hundred Indians now penetrated as far as Goose Creek; where seventy of the colonists and forty negroes had surrounded themselves with a breastwork, and seemed determined to maintain their post. But, disheartened by the first attack, they rashly agreed to a capitulation, which the enemy readily tendered, and then violated without scruple, by the prompt assassination or lingering torture of all the prisoners, whom their assurance of safety induced to submit. The Indians now advanced still nearer to Charleston; but their treachery and cruelty had roused the energy of despair, and eradicated all notions of treaty or surrender; and after some sharp encounters, the invaders in this quarter were finally repulsed by the provincial militia and their allies.

In the mean time the Yamassees, and the tribes united with their forces, spread destruction through the parish of St. Bartholomew, and advanced as far as Stono. Governor Craven, dispersing in his march the straggling parties of this wily foe, advanced with cautious steps to Saltcatchers, where they had pitched their principal camp in a situation which was well adapted to their peculiar style of warfare, by enabling them to shelter their troops behind trees and bushes. Here was fought an obstinate and bloody battle, in which the Indians, animating their fury by the terrific sound of the war-whoop, successively attacked, retreated, and again returned to the charge. Craven, undismayed by their ferocious rage, and supported by the steady intrepidity of his people, succeeded in totally vanquishing their force; drove them from their position, pursued them across Savannah River, and finally expelled them from the ter-

ritory of South Carolina. This victory put an end to the war, which occasioned a vast destruction of property, and the slaughter of at least four hundred of the inhabitants of South Carolina. The Yamassees, expelled from their own proper territories, retired to the Spanish possessions in Florida, where they were received with the strongest demonstrations of friendship and hospitality ; which convinced the Carolinians of the accession of Spain to the recent war, though they were unable to tax her with any overt act of hostile interposition. Two statutes were subsequently framed by the assembly of South Carolina, appropriating the lands that were gained by conquest from the Yamassees to the use of such British subjects as would adventure to occupy them. Relying on this assurance, a troop of five hundred men from Ireland transported themselves to Carolina ; but they had scarcely taken possession of the lands, when, to their entire ruin, and with the most audacious disregard of the provincial faith and interest, the proprietaries caused the whole district to be surveyed and partitioned into domains reserved for their own private advantage. They reaped, indeed, no actual benefit from the appropriation of lands which there were no tenants to cultivate ; but, unfortunately, it was the unoffending colonists who were the chief sufferers by this act of selfish injustice. The old settlers, losing the protection they had hoped to derive from the new comers, deserted their plantations, and again left the frontiers of the province exposed to the enemy ; while the deceived and disappointed Irish emigrants either miserably perished, or retired to the northern colonies.¹

Pennsylvania, meanwhile, blessed with liberty, prosperity, and a total exemption from the flames of war, and chiefly colonized by a race of men distinguished by the sobriety of their manners and the moderation of their sentiments and views, seemed to possess all the elements of national contentment. [1716.] Yet even this fortunate scene was not entirely unvisited by the bitter waters of strife and spleen ; and in the

¹ Hewit. Williamson. *Dummer's Defence of the New England Charters*. Hewit is a most perplexing writer. A phrase of continual recurrence with him is "about this time," — the meaning of which he leaves to the conjecture of readers and the laborious investigation of scholars, as he scarcely ever particularizes a date.

present year an address to Governor Gookin by the assembly, of which a majority still continued to be Quakers, after a prolix detail of their petty grievances, concluded with the preposterous lamentation that they were debarred from participation in the happiness which was so plentifully enjoyed by the other American colonies. There was, indeed, one subject of just complaint which the Quakers in Pennsylvania shared with their brethren in New Jersey. In both these States, the affirmation of a Quaker had been accepted by the provincial tribunal as equivalent to an oath, till the year 1705, when this privilege was withdrawn by Queen Anne, and Quaker testimony excluded (except by inevitable connivance) from the courts of justice, till the year 1725, when the British government, after numerous petitions and remonstrances, consented to the revival of the original regulation.¹ This serious grievance, however, produced no abatement of Quaker loyalty to the crown, which was attested by frequent expressions of dutiful homage, and particularly, in the present year, by an address of cordial congratulation on the suppression of "the unnatural rebellion" which, in 1715, broke forth in Scotland and the North of England. But no share of the reverence entertained for the king was extended to the provincial governor; against whom every cause of complaint, however trivial or inapplicable, served to minister occasion of ill-humor and obloquy. The high repute of the province, as a scene of ease, abundance, and well rewarded industry, had latterly attracted increasing numbers of settlers who did not belong to the Quaker persuasion; some of whom were persons of very loose morals, and all of whom were averse to the policy by which the Quakers interwove their own sectarian usages and principles into the fabric of the general provincial law. Gookin, who was neither a votary of the principles nor a courtier of the especial favor of the Quakers, was suspected by them of inclining to their rivals, and favoring, in the distribution of office and otherwise, the recent settlers and poorer classes of people, in preference to the more ancient and wealthy Quaker aristocracy of Pennsylvania.

¹ The affirmation of Quakers had been previously declared admissible in Britain, in all civil suits, by an act of parliament in 1714.

Numberless disputes and recriminations occurred between the governor and the assembly ; in which he strongly denied the justice of their suspicions, and sharply reprehended their disrespectful behaviour to himself, while they retorted upon him with a ready flow of grave yet fretful rhetoric, and indefatigable reiteration. One of their most important disputes was occasioned by a riotous assemblage of people at Philadelphia, who interposed to prevent the trial of a clergyman of the Episcopal persuasion by the Quaker laws and judges, on a charge of fornication. The rioters insisted that the Quakers had no right to convert a charge, which, by the laws of the parent state, was reserved exclusively for ecclesiastical inquiry and censure, into a secular felony or misdemeanour, cognizable by courts of common law ; and though the governor asserted the claims of the provincial jurisprudence, and suppressed the tumult, he was rated by the assembly for its occurrence with as much austerity and perseverance of rebuke as if he himself had been its open ringleader. The governor solemnly and indignantly repelled these insinuations ; and the Quakers repeated them with their usual pertinacity and prolixity. In the commencement of his administration, Gookin heard himself extolled by this people, and William Penn decried by them as an unjust, ambitious, and illiberal man. But now he was assured by the assembly that all their grievances were occasioned by the eclipse of the proprietary's understanding, which abandoned the governor, whom he would have wisely controlled, to the pernicious counsels of evil men. Shortly after this disagreeable communication, Gookin, in a brief address to the assembly, apprized them that he was now to take his last leave of them, as he was assured that he would presently be superseded in his office ; he requested them to consider the expensive voyage that awaited him ; and without farther reflection on their conduct, declared that the remembrance of the prospects he had sacrificed in the hope of serving the proprietary and the people of Pennsylvania, the disappointments he had sustained, and the uncertainty of obtaining in England any provision for his old age, altogether weighed so heavily on his spirits, that he must pray the assembly to excuse him for the fewness of his words. Though possessed with a spirit of peev-

ish, pragmatical disputation and self-conceit, the assembly was not entirely divested of a sense of justice even towards the objects of its jealousy ; and this touching address elicited an immediate vote of two hundred pounds to the governor, to defray the expenses of his homeward voyage.

Gookin was succeeded in the government of Pennsylvania by Sir William Keith [1717], formerly surveyor-general of the customs in America ; a man of insinuating address ; a shrewd, plausible, supple, and unprincipled adventurer ; devoid of honor and benevolence ; governed entirely by mean vanity and selfish interest. His political career presents a moral picture not unworthy of attention. Owing his appointment to the crown, and intrusted with the protection of the interest of the proprietary, he began by devoting himself skilfully, but unreservedly, to the pleasure of the most powerful party in the province ; and by his blandishments and dexterity soon gained in a very high degree the favor and good-will of the Pennsylvanian Quakers. In the prosecution of this policy, and aided by his natural sagacity, he promoted many useful measures, and became a popular governor. But he sacrificed without scruple the interest of the proprietary ; and when, by the death of William Penn, this interest devolved to persons who were capable of discerning and asserting it, the wishes and orders of the proprietary family experienced equal neglect from the governor. Keith, perceiving that the Pennsylvanian Quakers were bent on promoting the absolute authority of their provincial assembly, lent himself cordially to their design ; and in spite of the remonstrances of the widow and children of Penn, who insisted that he was bound to conform his conduct to the opinion of the provincial counsellors whom they appointed, he continued to be guided solely by the wishes and views of the majority of the assembly, and treated the injunctions of the council with the most open disregard, whenever they dissented from this standard of his policy. He occupied the chair of government for nine years ; and when at length he was displaced by the proprietaries, the same cause that produced this mark of their displeasure procured him a seat and the possession of considerable influence in the assembly. Here he indulged the hope of being again elevated to

honor and distinction by the subsidiary rage of party zeal, which he forthwith essayed to enkindle by intrigues that caused the second act of this political drama to prove shorter than the first, and quickly rendered him as odious to the people as he had already become to the proprietaries. Forsaken, then, by every provincial party and authority, he returned to England; and, as a last resource, betook himself to the favor of the crown, which he studiously cultivated by suggesting and advocating measures for the advancement of royal prerogative in the colonies. He recommended, in particular, the immediate taxation of America by the British parliament. But his counsels obtained no contemporary notice; his servility was permitted to be its own sole reward; and he closed his life at London in poverty, obscurity, and contempt.¹

One of the first transactions that signalized the administration of Governor Keith was suggested by the numerous influx of strangers into the province. Perceiving that the wealthier class of the inhabitants were less desirous of increasing the strength and population of Pennsylvania than of preserving the Quaker ascendancy, which was endangered by the increasing resort of foreigners and necessitous persons of a different religious persuasion, he proposed to the assembly that some legislative ordinance should be enacted for obstructing such unlimited infusion of heterogeneous sentiments and manners. This illiberal counsel, clothed with the specious pretext of danger to the British dominion, and to the stability of peace with the Indians, from the number of German emigrants² who resorted to Pennsylvania, proved exceedingly palatable to the assembly, who urged the governor to adopt or suggest some measure for carrying his judicious policy into immediate effect. But Keith, having gained his end by demonstrating a spirit so agreeable to the views of a powerful party which he studied to please, was too prudent to proceed farther in a matter of such

¹ He died in 1749. His scheme for taxing America was published in a periodical work, entitled *The Citizen*. Some account of it is preserved in another periodical work, which, though replete with curious matter, is now almost entirely forgotten, — *The Political Register* for 1767. The original draught of the scheme is published in Burk's *History of Virginia*.

² Proud, the Quaker historian, suggests, apologetically, that the persecuted *Mennonists* of Germany were at this time resorting in considerable numbers to Pennsylvania.

importance, without consulting the British government ; and apprising the assembly that he had besought the king's ministers to interpose in the defence of the province against an inundation of foreigners, he gratified them with this additional proof of zeal, and with the hope that they might obtain the benefit they desired, without being compelled themselves to undertake the ungracious measure which they contemplated. But the British government would lend no encouragement to Keith's propositions ; and the Pennsylvanian Quakers were not yet prepared to incur the odium of closing the resources of their large vacant territories against destitute strangers, and fugitives from misery and persecution.

Keith's counsel, however, was not forgotten ; and we shall find that it was actually carried into effect a few years after he was displaced from the government. He continued meanwhile to gratify the assembly by an entire devotion to its wishes ; restored to the Quakers (of whom many have always demonstrated a far stricter fidelity to the manners than to the principles of their sectarian society) their interrupted privilege of wearing their hats in courts of justice ; and extolled with the warmest praise their " dutiful loyalty and amiable spirit with respect to government." The only instance in which he dissented from the opinion of the prevailing party in the province was in the support he gave to the proposition of a paper currency, which was eagerly desired by the poorer and more enterprising classes of the inhabitants ; and which, though carried into effect, was restricted within very narrow limits by the apprehensive caution of the Quakers and other wealthy planters. In renewing the provincial treaties with the Indians, he commended to them the philanthropy of their old friend, William Penn, and the pacific principles of Quakerism, to which he imputed the early advancement of Pennsylvania to a wealthy and powerful estate ; but he enforced his recommendation of their continued friendship with the colonists, by assuring them that he could bring several thousands of armed men into the field for the defence of his people and their Indian allies. Some manifestation was made of the repugnance of Quaker principles to negro slavery by an act of assembly [1722] which imposed a duty on the importation of negroes into the province.

Exempted now from political broils, and continuing happily unacquainted with the rage and desolation of war, Pennsylvania enjoyed a rapid increase of agricultural improvement, commercial enterprise, and the wealth and numbers of her people. But amidst this flourishing scene, the controversial leaven of human nature disclosed its virulence in a great increase of forensic litigation ; a civil strife prevailed, less fatal, but more inglorious, than martial broil ; and notwithstanding the institution of *Peacemakers*,¹ and the solemn and repeated remonstrances of the more pious members of the Quaker society, the surprising number of lawsuits, and the unchristian keenness and pertinacity with which vexatious claims and frivolous disagreements were pursued and prolonged, continued to afford a theme of sincere regret and benevolent counsel to all wise and good men.²

The situation of Carolina at this time exhibited a deplorable contrast to the prosperous condition of Pennsylvania. Recently afflicted with the scourge of war, embarrassed by their public debt, yet alarmed with the rumors of farther hostile designs of the Spaniards and the Indians, and filled with aversion and contempt for the selfish and oppressive proprietaries who claimed the sovereignty of the province, the Carolinians had now to endure a heavy accession to their calamities from the prevalence of piracy on their coasts. The commercial restrictions imposed by Great Britain gave rise to a great deal of smuggling in almost all the American colonies ; and, under color of aiding in the evasion of those obnoxious restrictions, pirates were able, not unfrequently, to induce many of the colonists to traffic with them in their nefarious acquisitions. Some of the provincial smugglers, too, became pirates. Exasperated by seizures of their vessels and cargoes, and by the persuasion they entertained, in common with many of their countrymen, of the injustice of British policy, — hardened by the disgrace of detected fraud, and depraved by a life of lawless gambling and danger, — a slight exaggeration, rather than a startling change, of their habits was sufficient to transport them from the practice of illicit trade to the guilt of piratical depredation.

¹ See Book VII., Chap. II. *ante*.

² Oldmixon. Proud.

These gangs of naval robbers were likewise frequently recruited by British sailors, who had been trained to ferocity and injustice by the legalized piracy of the slave-trade. Undeterred by the fate of Kidd, Captain Quelch, the commander of a brigantine which had committed numerous piracies, ventured to take shelter, with his crew, in Massachusetts, in the year 1704. A discovery soon took place of their guilty practices; and having been brought to trial at Boston, Quelch and six of his accomplices died by the hands of the executioner. In the year 1717, several vessels were captured on the coast of New England by Captain Bellamy, a noted pirate, who commanded a vessel carrying twenty-three guns, and a crew of one hundred and thirty men. This vessel being wrecked shortly after on Cape Cod, the captain perished in the waves with the whole of his naval banditti, except six, who, gaining the shore, were tried and executed at Boston. During the first presidency of Nicholson, a piratical band was captured on the coast of Virginia; and during the presidency of Spottiswoode, a troop of pirates were detected, in the disguise of merchants, in the same province, and four of them were executed and hung in chains. In consequence of repeated complaints, from the British merchants trading to the West Indies and America, of the depredations of these freebooters, who had formed their principal station and a regular settlement in the island of New Providence, George the First issued a proclamation, offering pardon to all pirates who should surrender to any of his colonial governors within twelve months, and, at the same time, despatched a few ships of war, under Captain Woods Rogers, who, repairing to New Providence, assumed possession of this insular den of robbers. Almost all the pirates, who were stationed there at the time, took the benefit of the royal proclamation, and desisted from their lawless pursuits.¹ [1718.]

None of the colonies was more harassed by the resort and the depredations of pirates than Carolina; and here, notwithstanding the proclamation of the king and the operations at New Providence, the evil continued to prevail with undiminished extent and malignity. Charles Craven, who, next to Archdale,

¹ Oldmixon. Hutchinson. *Universal History*. Holmes. Howell's *State Trials*.

was the most respectable and popular governor whom the Carolinians ever yet obeyed, had recently been succeeded in the presidency of South Carolina by Robert Johnson, the son of a previous governor, Sir Nathaniel Johnson. The new governor was a man whose wisdom, integrity, and moderation might have rendered the people contented and happy ; but he was fettered by instructions from the proprietaries that provoked universal impatience and disaffection. Yet the people were discriminating enough to acknowledge Johnson's personal claims on their respect : and the vigor and courage he exerted for the extirpation of piracy gained him a great accession of popularity. Steed Bonnet and Richard Worley, two pirate chiefs who had fled from New Providence at the approach of Woods Rogers, took possession, with their vessels, of the mouth of Cape Fear River, where they again attempted to form a stronghold of piracy, and kept all the adjacent coast in terror. The governor with one vessel, and Captain Rhett with another, sailed from Charleston against these marauders ; and, attacking them with superior bravery and skill, compelled them, after a severe engagement, to surrender. Steed Bonnet, who was a man of letters, and had held the rank of major in the British army, together with forty-one of his accomplices, was executed at Charleston. But piracy prevailed still more extensively on the coast of North Carolina ; and this region had been for some time the haunt of the most desperate adventurer of the age, in piratical enterprise, and in every kindred crime.

John Theach was the name of this barbarous miscreant ; but he was more commonly designated by his favorite appellation of *Blackbeard*, derived from his attempt to heighten the ferocious aspect of his countenance, by suffering a beard of unusually dark hue to grow to an immoderate length, and adjusting it with elaborate care in such an inhuman disposition as was calculated to excite surprise, aversion, and horror. He had once been acknowledged supreme commander of the banded pirates at New Providence ; but for some reason forsook that preëminence, and, confining himself to the sway of a single crew, preferred to retire to the mouth of Pamlico River, in North Carolina, whenever he desired to refit his vessel or refresh himself on shore. In battle, he has been represented with the look

and demeanour of a fury, carrying three brace of pistols in holsters slung over his shoulders, and lighted matches under his hat, protruding over his ears. The authority and admiration which the pirate chiefs enjoyed among their fellows was proportioned to the audacity and extravagance of their outrages on humanity ; and none in this respect ever challenged a rivalry with Theach. The force of his pretensions may be conceived from the character of his jests and the style of his convivial humor. Having frequently undertaken to personify a demon for the entertainment of his followers, he proposed on one occasion to gratify them still further by an anticipated representation of hell ; and in this attempt he nearly stifled the whole crew with the fumes of brimstone under the hatches of his vessel. In one of his ecstasies, whilst heated with liquor, and sitting in his cabin, he took a pistol in each hand, and, cocking them under the table, blew out the lights, and then with crossed hands fired on each side at his companions, one of whom received a shot that maimed him for life. He kept fourteen women whom he called his wives, and who were alternately the objects of his dalliance and the victims of his cruelty.

The county of Bath, adjacent to the scene of his retirement in Pamlico River, was thinly peopled ; and Theach, protected by a strong guard, repaired frequently on shore, and visited some of the inhabitants who did not disdain to associate with such a monster, or who dreaded to provoke his vengeance by rejecting his advances. But his chief security was derived from the profligacy of Charles Eden, the governor, and Tobias Knight, the secretary, of the province, who were corrupted by the pirate's gold, and consented to protect him in return for a share of it. The notoriety of this league between the principal officers of the proprietary government and the most infamous ruffian of the age discouraged and disgusted every honest man in North Carolina, relaxed the bonds of civil government, and promoted a general depravation of manners. Enriched with his guilty spoil, and apprized of the operations of Woods Rogers at New Providence, Theach judged it expedient to secure an indemnity for the past, by accepting the benefit of the king's proclamation ; and for this purpose surrendered

himself with twenty of his men to his patron, Governor Eden, who administered the oath of allegiance to wretches by whom oaths were habitually employed as the instruments of fraud, the expressions of rage and fury, and the concomitants of rapine and bloodshed. A few of the pirates betook themselves to honest pursuits ; while the greater number, still at war with human welfare, insulted and contaminated, by the spectacle of their wealthy impunity and the example of their vices, the society which they had plundered by their maritime robberies.

But it was impossible for a man like Theach, whose mind was loaded with such a weight of dark and horrible remembrance, to exist without madness or compunction in a state that admitted even the shortest intervals of calm reflection ; and seeking a substitute for the vehement interest of battle, and a refuge from the torment of his conscience, in the excitement of gambling and the stupefaction of debauchery, he soon dissipated his riches and was reduced to want. Without a moment's scruple, he determined on a return to his former occupation ; and having enlisted a suitable crew, and fitted out a sloop which he entered at the custom-house as a common trader, he embarked, as he said, for a commercial adventure. In a few weeks he returned to North Carolina, bringing with him a French ship in a state of perfect soundness and with a valuable cargo, which he deposed on oath that he had found deserted at sea ;—a statement which Eden and Knight accepted without hesitation. But it obtained credit from no body else ; and some of the Carolinians who had formerly suffered from Theach's depredations, instead of vainly invoking the justice of a governor who openly connived at his villany, despatched information of this occurrence to the government of Virginia. Colonel Spottiswoode and the Virginian assembly straightway proclaimed a large reward for the apprehension of the pirate ; and Maynard, the lieutenant of a ship of war which was stationed in the Bay of Chesapeake, collecting a chosen crew in two small vessels, set sail in quest of Theach, with instructions to hunt down and destroy this plague and disgrace of humanity, wherever he could be found. Approaching Pamlico Sound in the evening, Maynard descried the pirate at a distance, watching for prey. [November 21,

1718.] Theach, surprised by the sudden appearance of an enemy, but determined to conquer or die, prepared his vessel over night for action, and then, sitting down to his bottle, proceeded to stimulate his spirits to that pitch of frenzy in which he had often passed victorious through a whirlwind of danger and crime. From the difficult navigation of the inlet through which the assailants had to penetrate in order to approach him, and from his own superior acquaintance with the soundings of the coast, Theach was able, next day, to manœuvre for a while with advantage, and maintain a running fight. At length, however, a close encounter ensued ; in which, after great slaughter on both sides, the steady, deliberate valor of Maynard and his crew prevailed over the rage and desperation of the pirates. Such is generally the result of contests in which the courage of the one party is supported by sentiments of justice, honor, and duty, while the spirit of the other is corrupted by conscious wrong and divided by ignoble and bewildering impressions of disgrace and shame. Foreboding defeat, Theach had posted one of his followers with a lighted match over his powder-magazine, that, in the last extremity, he might defraud human justice of a part of its retributive triumph. But some accident or mistake prevented the execution of this act of despair. Theach himself, surrounded by slaughtered foes and followers, and bleeding from numerous wounds, in the act of stepping back to cock a pistol, fainted from loss of blood, and expired on the spot. The few survivors of the piratical crew threw down their arms, and, suing for life, were spared from the sword, and delivered over to a more suitable death.¹ Though piracy sustained an important check from the various operations to which we have adverted, it still continued to linger in the American seas ; and, about five years after this period, no fewer than twenty-six pirates were executed at the same time by the sentence of an admiralty court in Rhode Island.²

¹ Oldmixon. Wynne. Hewit. Williamson. M'Kinnen's *Tour through the British West Indies*. Howell's *State Trials*. One of the earliest literary compositions of Dr. Franklin (at this time apprentice to a printer in Massachusetts) was a ballad on the death of the pirate Theach, which was sung through the streets of Boston. Franklin's *Memoirs*.

² Oldmixon. Holmes. Some of the pirates executed on this last occasion were natives of Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, and Virginia.

The extirpation of the pirates who had infested the coasts of Carolina, though it delivered the inhabitants from a grievous calamity, nowise tended to mitigate the discontent which the conduct of their proprietary sovereigns had provoked. In the southern province, the people subdued the pirates and defended themselves against the Spaniards and the Indians by their own unassisted exertions ; and in the northern province, piracy had been abetted by the unprincipled venality of the proprietary officers. Yet it was in South Carolina that impatience and disaffection most strongly and generally prevailed. To this, as the wealthiest of the two provinces, the proprietaries devoted the largest share of their attention ; and their policy of late years was increasingly offensive to the people. They not only repealed some useful and important laws which had been ratified by their own provincial deputies and suffered for a while to endure, but latterly commanded the governor to give assent to no law whatever till after a draught of it had been submitted to themselves in England and sanctioned by their express approbation. Among other measures which the colonists were desirous of adopting was one intended to counteract the inconvenience arising from the scarcity of money occasioned by the late wars, to the expenses of which the proprietaries had contributed nothing, though they owed the preservation of their large estates to the repulse of the enemy. The assembly proposed to appreciate the exchangeable value of country commodities, and declare them, at such estimated price, a legal tender for the payment of all debts. But this was firmly resisted by the proprietaries. Instead of demonstrating a liberal confidence in the people, they sought to divide them by party spirit and manage them by corruption and intrigue.

Of the agents whom they employed for this purpose the most notable was Nicholas Trott, a man whose talents, information, and apparent zeal for provincial liberty had gained him a high consideration with his fellow-colonists of South Carolina. Finding Trott willing to exchange honor for profit, the proprietaries appointed him chief justice of the province, and added to this promotion various other offices of power and emolument. In return for their favors, he traduced to them the people whose interests he had deserted, encouraged

their most unjust pretensions, and reinforced by his counsel their objections to every liberal and popular design. Universal disgust attended the detection of Trott's perfidious intrigues ; and the proprietaries gained nothing from their connection with him but a copious supply of pernicious counsel, and a just share of the detestation with which his apostasy was regarded. In addition to his other demerits, Trott, who had now contracted an insatiable appetite for money, was guilty of gross partiality and corruption in the discharge of his judicial functions. The assembly proposed to impeach him for this offence ; but he defied their resentment, and, relying on his commission from the proprietaries, protested that he was answerable to them alone for the manner in which he discharged the trust conferred by it. Governor Johnson and a majority of the council united with the assembly in strongly reprobating the judicial malversation of Trott, but lamented their inability to suspend his functions. They offered, however, to join with the assembly in demanding redress in a competent form ; and a commissioner was accordingly deputed from the province to England, to solicit from the proprietaries the removal of their chief justice, and a remission or modification of the illiberal instructions which had been lately communicated to the governor. On the arrival of the commissioner at London [1719¹], he found that Lord Carteret, the palatine of the province, was absent as the ambassador of Great Britain at the court of Sweden ; and after an attendance of three months on the other proprietaries, he was at last informed by them that they had

¹ Londonderry, in New Hampshire, was colonized this year by about a hundred families of emigrants from Ulster, in Ireland. They were the descendants of Scotch Presbyterians, who were induced, in the reign of James the First, to settle in Ireland ; and, sharing the sufferings of that unhappy country in the reigns of Charles the First and James the Second, had conceived an ardent and inextinguishable thirst for civil and religious liberty. Notwithstanding the triumph of the Protestant cause at the British Revolution, some penal laws which were still permitted to subsist against Protestant Dissenters in Ireland, together with the inconveniences of tithes and high rents, prompted a number of these people to emigrate to North America. They regarded the residence of their race in Ireland as a state of bondage, and nothing was more offensive to them than to be termed Irish people. They introduced the foot-spinning-wheel and the culture of potatoes into America. Thus Ireland repaid America for her original boon. Belknap. *Ante*, Book I., Chap. I. In the same year the *Aurora Borealis* was first descried in New England, and beheld with general alarm ; being regarded as a sign of the last judgment. Holmes. See Note I., at the end of the volume.

ascertained from Trott's letters that the complaints against him originated solely in a factious opposition to the proprietary government ; and that, confiding in the fidelity of their minister and the wisdom of their own policy, they would neither displace the one nor retract the other. They signified in haughty strains to the governor, the council, and the assembly, that the proprietaries had received their disloyal and presumptuous application with the highest displeasure and surprise. In farther testimony of these sentiments, they commanded the governor to displace all the counsellors who had united with him and the assembly in promoting the late deputation, and to fill the vacated offices with certain individuals whom they particularized, and who had been gained by Trott, and recommended by him to their favor. On receiving this communication, Johnson plainly foresaw, from the temper of the people, that a social convulsion would ensue ; but, true to imagined duty, he shrunk not from executing his orders.

About this time a rupture having taken place between the courts of Great Britain and Spain, a project of invading South Carolina and the island of New Providence was formed at Havana, the capital of the Spanish settlements in the island of Cuba, and an armament was collected there for the expedition. Johnson, apprized of the danger, summoned the provincial assembly to assist him in putting their country in a posture of defence. This requisition brought the dissensions between the proprietary government and the people to a crisis. The assembly refused to bestow the smallest pittance of the public money ; and their resolution, far from being weakened, was confirmed and precipitated by the officious interposition of the chief justice in support of the governor's demand. But, though determined no longer to spend their resources in defence of the proprietary system, it was not their intention to leave the colony a defenceless prey to the Spaniards. An association was promptly formed by them for uniting the whole provincial population in opposition at once to the foreign enemy and the proprietary government ; and the instrument of union which expressed this purpose was instantly circulated through the province, and subscribed by every one of the inhabitants, except a very few retainers of the disowned au-

thority. Governor Johnson, after a fruitless altercation with the assembly, who vainly solicited him to unite with them, and accept a delegation of supreme authority from their hands, attempted to dissolve them by proclamation, and retired from Charleston to the country, in the hope that the popular ferment would gradually subside. But the assembly ordered the proclamation to be wrested from the marshal's hands ; and allowing no time for a relaxation of the general ardor, proceeded vigorously to consummate the provincial revolt. Meeting on the summons of their own speaker, and with the entire acquiescence of their fellow-citizens, they chose Colonel Moore, a man of bold, enterprising temper, to fill the office they had tendered to Johnson ; and on a day which they previously announced, proclaimed him governor of South Carolina, not under the proprietaries, but *in the name of the king*. To the new governor, and to the individual whom they appointed chief justice, they assigned salaries twice as large as the emoluments which were attached to these offices under the proprietary system. They next chose twelve counsellors, of whom Sir Hovenden Walker (who had emigrated to this province) was named president ; and thus completed the structure of a provincial government framed in conformity with the general will.

The late governor, who had attempted meanwhile to disconcert their measures, and succeeded in creating some embarrassment, now made his last and boldest effort to compel the recognition of his authority. He engaged the commanders of some British ships of war to bring their vessels in front of Charleston ; and threatened to lay the city in ashes, unless an immediate submission to the proprietary dominion were declared. But the people, having arms in their hands and forts in their possession, bade defiance to his menace ; and now finding the proprietary cause hopeless, he abandoned all farther attempts to support it. The conduct of Rhett, who had more than once distinguished himself as a naval officer in the service of his fellow-colonists, was, during this revolution, strangely equivocal. He had accepted offices of emolument from the proprietaries, and for some time prior to the revolt was accounted their partisan and the coadjutor of Trott. But he refused to act in concert with Johnson ; and, uniting with the

insurgents, obtained their confidence, and preserved his emoluments. Notwithstanding this, Rhett preserved his credit with the proprietaries, to whom he represented his acceptance of a popular commission as a device to which he resorted for the purpose of more effectually serving their interests ; protesting, moreover, that the inflexibility of Johnson was one of the main sources of the discontent and defection of the people, and utterly inconsistent with good policy ; and that, in the experience of every country, there were seasons when the minds of men would not bend to mere customary authority, when the rigid exertion of official power tended inevitably to defeat its own object, and when lenity proved a far more efficacious remedy than severity to counteract the stream of disaffection against existing rulers and established institutions.

During this revolutionary movement, the Spaniards sailed from Havana with a fleet of fourteen ships, and a land force consisting of twelve hundred men, against South Carolina and the island of New Providence. Johnson represented to the Carolinians the dangerous consequences of military operations under illegitimate command, assuring them, that, in case of defeat, they could expect only the treatment of pirates ; but the people adhered firmly to their purpose ; and the provincial assembly, or convention (as they styled themselves), continued to transact business with the governor whom they had appointed. Martial law was proclaimed ; all the inhabitants of the province were summoned to Charleston, for the defence of the capital ; and heavy taxes were imposed,—from which, by a rare instance of generous forbearance, the late Governor Johnson and his estates alone were exempted. This magnanimous people were averse to render the fortune of a brave and honorable man, whom circumstances, rather than his own disposition, had placed in a state of controversy with them, tributary to a triumph over his own principles and dignity. Happily for Carolina, the Spaniards, eager to acquire possession of the Gulf of Florida, resolved that their expedition should commence with the attack of New Providence. They were vigorously repulsed from this island by Commodore Rogers ; and soon after lost the greater part of their fleet in a storm. From a repetition of their enterprise, which they sub-

sequently prepared to undertake, they were deterred by the arrival on the provincial coast of a British ship of war commanded by Captain (afterwards Lord) Anson, so renowned at a later period by his voyage round the world, who displayed a skill and vigor in behalf of the province that procured him the most flattering and valuable testimonials of grateful approbation from its inhabitants.

What might have been the result of these revolutionary measures of the people of South Carolina, if they had been disallowed by the British government, it is impossible to divine. During the absence from Britain of George the First, who was visiting his Hanoverian dominions [1720], the agent for the people of South Carolina and the proprietaries of this province maintained their controversy before the Lords of Regency and Council at London, who pronounced as their opinion that the proprietaries had forfeited their charter. In conformity with this censure, the attorney-general was ordered to institute legal proceedings for accomplishing the formal dissolution of the charter; and in the mean time, that active and ambitious adventurer, who now bore the rank of general and the title of Sir Francis Nicholson, was appointed governor of South Carolina by a commission from the king. Thus the colonists of this province, after an irksome endurance of the odious and despicable sway of their proprietaries, by one bold and irregular effort, succeeded in emancipating themselves from the proprietary system, and in placing their country under the immediate protection of the crown of Great Britain. It had long been suspected that the spirit of discontent and turbulence, so strongly manifested in both the provinces of Carolina, was nourished in a great measure by the nature of their government; and that the colonists scanned the administration of an officer appointed by their own fellow-subjects with less reverence and indulgence than they might be expected to bestow on the conduct of one who claimed the dazzling title of the representative of royalty. In South Carolina, though the forms of proprietary government were abolished, the legal substance of proprietary right still subsisted. In North Carolina, the forms of obedience to proprietary jurisdiction were still ob-

served ; but the people continued sullen, disorderly, and discontented with their situation.¹

Hunter was succeeded this year in the government of New York and New Jersey by William Burnet, son of the celebrated English bishop and historian ; a man of superior sense, talent, and address ; pious, though of a convivial disposition ; a learned scholar and astronomer, and yet a shrewd politician and both active and skilful in the conduct of business. He labored with equal wisdom and assiduity to promote the welfare of the province, and cultivated the favor of the people with a success which only the clamors and intrigues of an interested faction prevented from being as entire and immediate as it proved lasting and honorable. Though, in the close of his administration, his popularity was eclipsed by the artifices of those who opposed his views, the testimony that farther experience afforded of the tendency of these views to promote the general good gained him a time-honored name, and a reputation coequal with his deserts ; and more than twenty years after his death, the Swedish philosopher Kalm, during his travels in America, heard Burnet's worth commemorated with grateful praise by this people, who lamented him as the best governor they had ever obeyed. He had been comptroller-general of the customs at London, and now made an exchange of official position with Governor Hunter. Aided by the counsels of Livingston and Alexander, two of the most considerable inhabitants of New York, Morris, the chief justice, and the learned and ingenious Dr. Colden, author of the *History of the Five Nations*, and afterwards deputy-governor of the province, — Burnet pursued with indefatigable zeal and industry the most judicious plans for improving the relations between the colonists and their ancient Indian allies.

In the competition that prevailed between the English and the French colonies for the possession of trade and influence with the Indians, the English (as Charlevoix remarks) enjoyed the advantage of being able to afford their commodities to the Indians at much cheaper prices than the French were constrained to demand. But the important benefit that might have

¹ Hewit. Ramsay's *History of the Revolution of South Carolina*. William-son. *Life of Lord Anson*.

been derived from this advantage was almost wholly intercepted by a commercial intercourse that had been formed since the peace of Utrecht, and by which the French became the purchasers, at Albany and New York, of the commodities imported by the English for the Indian market. The increased communication and superior influence which the French were thus enabled to acquire with the Indian race was perceived by some friendly chiefs of the Six Nations, and pressed by them on the attention of Governor Hunter and the officers whom the government now employed under the title of Commissioners for Indian Affairs.¹ But no remedy was applied to the mischief, till Burnet prevailed on the assembly to pass an act for a temporary suspension of trade between New York and Canada. As the immediate operation of this act was to diminish the importation of the English goods which heretofore were customarily sold to the French, till substitutional relations of commerce were formed with the Indians, it excited the complaints of the American importers and the London merchants, whose intrigues affected the governor's popularity, and proportionally embarrassed his administration; and notwithstanding the penalties attached to a transgression of the act, it was repeatedly violated by the contraband dealings of the traders of Albany. But the beneficial consequences of the measure ere long became sensibly apparent; and when the duration of the act expired, the assembly renewed its provisions by a law to which no period was assigned.

Burnet cultivated the favor of the Indians by presents, treaties, and complimentary attentions; and having acquainted himself with the geography of the country, he was struck with the expediency of obtaining the command of Lake Ontario, as well for the appropriation of the trade and the security of the friendship of the Six Nations, as to frustrate the French design of confining the British dominion to narrow limits along the sea-

¹ The residence of the governors at New York rendered it necessary that some persons should be commissioned at Albany to maintain immediate communication with the Indians, receive intelligence from them, and treat with them in sudden emergencies. This gave rise to the office of Commissioners for Indian Affairs, who ordinarily represented the British government in transactions with the Indians. These functionaries received no salaries; but considerable sums were deposited in their hands for occasional presents to the savages.

coast, by means of a chain of forts stretching from Canada to Louisiana. To that end, he commenced the erection of a trading-house at Oswego, in the country of the Senecas, one of the confederated tribes of the Six Nations, — a measure which the French, whose vigilant jealousy it failed not to awaken, promptly endeavoured to counteract ; and by their interest with the Onondagas, another of the confederated tribes, they obtained permission to rebuild a fort which France had once possessed in their peculiar territory at Niagara, and also to erect a mercantile storehouse at the same place. As soon as this latter transaction was known to the other members of the Indian confederacy, they declared the permission granted by the French absolutely null and void, and sent deputies to the French, commanding them forthwith to discontinue the operations which they had hastily begun. The French, however, advanced their buildings with increased activity, while the Indians were amused and beguiled of their purpose by the arts and influence of the Chevalier Joncaire, a French gentleman, whom the force and pliancy of his genius, concurring with the bent of his taste, rendered a masterly practitioner of diplomacy and intrigue. He had lived among the Indians from the beginning of Queen Anne's reign, — assuming their manners, and speaking their language, with an eloquent embellishment of their peculiar style that captivated their highest admiration. He was adopted as a brother by the Senecas, and enjoyed much consideration with the Onondagas. All these advantages he improved to the advancement of his country's influence and dominion ; facilitating the admission of French missionaries to the Indian settlements, and excelling the most industrious and accomplished of the Jesuits in the zeal and success of his endeavours to dissolve the existing relations of friendship between the Indians and the English. Governor Burnet exerted himself with great diligence and ability, and not entirely without success, to counteract the intrigues of Joncaire, and rouse the British government and the Six Nations to a resolute opposition to the encroachments of France. At his own private expense he completed the building of a fort and trading-house at Oswego, in defiance of the menaces of the governor of Canada. But, unfortunately, his influence was now impaired and his ad-

ministration embarrassed by the factious intrigues of the Albany traders and their commercial correspondents at London, who, for the sake of a few years' immediate gain, were willing to sacrifice the lasting prosperity of New York, and the security of the British colonial empire. While the Albany traders labored to destroy his popularity in the province, the merchants of London who were connected with them exerted all their interest at the British court to obtain his removal from New York, — an object which their unworthy machinations finally succeeded in accomplishing.¹

Burnet, whose patrimony had fallen a prey to the fraud and delusion of the famous adventure, called the *South Sea Scheme*, was originally induced to accept the government of New York by circumstances not more creditable to the character of England in that age, than the narrow policy and mean intrigue which ultimately deprived him of his command. France and England had been plunged for some time in a national delirium not less wild, and far more fatal, than the mania of the *tulip trade*, which broke forth in Holland about a century before. The frenzy that signalized the present epoch was excited by that spirit of commercial gambling to which the first impulse was given by the projects of the notorious John Law, a Scotchman, and the son of an obscure goldsmith in Edinburgh.

This extraordinary person was endowed by nature with a wonderful capacity of profound and extensive calculation, and a strong concurrent taste for every pursuit and research that was fitted to cultivate and develope his peculiar genius. He applied himself to the investigation of every branch of knowledge relative to banks, lotteries, and the trading companies of London; he studied the means of supporting them, and of cherishing the public hope and confidence on which they mainly depended. Having penetrated the innermost secrets of the policy of these establishments, he increased his knowledge by obtaining a mercantile situation in Holland, where he succeeded in fully acquainting himself not only with the springs and principles, but with the minutest practical details, of the

¹ Charlevoix's *Letters*. Kalm's *Travels*. Oldmixon. W. Smith. *Laws of New York* (edited by Livingston and Smith), from 1691 to 1751.

system pursued in that masterpiece of financial establishments, the Bank of Amsterdam. By dint of reflecting on the information he had acquired, and of combining such a variety of knowledge, he composed a system which was admirable for its order and the concatenation of the numerous and diversified operations which it involved, — a system founded at least as much upon skilful acquaintance with the human mind, as upon the science of numbers, — but which implied an entire disregard of good faith, equity, and humanity, and afforded the amplest scope to fraud, perfidy, and injustice. The author of this scheme was an abandoned villain, devoid of all sense of religion, morality, or real honor. Having slain a man in a duel, he fled from Britain,¹ and was accompanied in his exile by an adulterous paramour, whom he had seduced from her husband. His avarice was insatiable ; and all his extensive schemes and combinations were subservient to the gratification of that ignoble passion. His taste for gaming (in the practice of which he was remarkably successful), together with his elegant manners and sprightly conversation, procured him the intimate acquaintance of many persons of distinction, who disgraced their rank and impaired their fortunes by their commerce with such an associate. In the exhausted state to which the late war had reduced the exchequers of all the European potentates, he foresaw that they must necessarily adopt some extraordinary measures to recruit their finances ; and the hopes he indulged of successfully realizing his great project were increased by the allurements which it presented to any government that would not scruple to prefer a speedy to an honest extrication from financial embarrassment. His system was calculated to enable a sovereign to pay his debts, not by retrenching his luxury and profusion, but by attracting, under specious pretences, to himself, all the gold and silver of his subjects ; and the machinery by which this end was to be accomplished consisted of a bank, the real capital of which was to be the revenues of the state, and the accruing capital some branch of commerce little known, and therefore easily

¹ It appears from Wood's *Life of Law* that this adventurer was actually tried and condemned to be hanged, but escaped from prison while his fate was in suspense.

misrepresented and exaggerated. The engines on which he mainly relied were the covetousness and credulity of mankind. Law the less regretted his exile, when he reflected that such a scheme would be most efficaciously conducted in a country where the sovereign enjoyed absolute power.

Repairing to France, he unfolded his views to Louis the Fourteenth, who, notwithstanding the extenuated condition of his treasury, is reported, on the bare exposition of the project, to have rejected it with expressions of abhorrence. But Law found a less scrupulous patron in the regent, Duke of Orleans; and in the year 1717, with the encouragement of this infamous prince, he commenced his operations by the establishment of a national bank, which was followed soon after by the memorable *Western*, or *Mississippi Company*. The professed object of this association was the aggrandizement and cultivation of the colonies of France in North America; and the French government enhanced its delusive credit by assigning to it the whole territory of Louisiana.¹ The detail of the projector's success, — of the frantic eagerness with which Frenchmen of all ranks plunged their fortunes into the gulf which his profound and masterly villany had prepared for them, — and of the widespread ruin and misery that ensued, — is foreign to our purpose, and belongs to the historian of France. But the operation of Law's evil genius was not confined to that country. There is a diffusively contagious influence in the ferment of any strong passion among a multitude of people; and while the French delusion lasted, a kindred spirit of daring fraud and desperate gambling was awakened in England.

From the Mississippi Scheme of Law, the project, scarcely

¹ A great many persons were induced by Law's representations to repair to this territory and undertake its colonization. Of these, a body of German emigrants alone succeeded in rearing a flourishing settlement. Most of the others, ruined or disappointed by the fall of the Mississippi Company, forsook the province. Jefferys' *History of the French Dominions in North and South America*. To recruit the colonial population, an edict was issued by the French government, commanding the apprehension and transportation to America of all the vagabonds by whom the cities and highways of France were infested. To this edict an excellent man and admirable philosopher, George Edwards, the famous British ornithologist, during his travels in France, in the year 1720, had very nearly fallen a victim. *Annual Register for 1776*. Law, revisiting his native country, acquired a small estate, under the name of which his descendants not only veiled their ancestral infamy, but actually procured a title of nobility in France! One of them attained the rank of Marshal, under the Emperor Napoleon.

less famous, of the *South Sea Company* of England was borrowed, by the imitative craft of Sir John Blunt, a member of the House of Commons, and successfully recommended to the inhabitants of this country by the coöperation of a crew of artful and rapacious associates. A frenzy ensued, which, if more transient, was also more general and more extravagant, than that which possessed the French; and productive of scenes and adventures, in which it is difficult to discriminate the mingling shades of crime and folly, — to distinguish between the gambling of fools and knaves, alike transported with a rage for sudden enrichment. New projects were proclaimed, and joint-stock companies¹ were formed every day for carrying them into effect, under the patronage of many of the royal ministers and the chief nobility, and even of the Prince of Wales. The most chimerical designs were embraced and seconded by persons of all ranks, high and low, rich and poor, professional, commercial, and literary; and one obscure projector, in particular, received in a single morning the subscriptions of a thousand persons for the execution of a project which he declined to explain at the time, but promised to disclose a month after, — as he effectually did, by decamping with his booty. Some persons, whom sincere delusion had originally plunged into the prevalent speculations, were ultimately hurried by the temptation of gain, or driven by the fear of ruin, consciously to promote the general error, in order to sell their stock with advantage, or shift from themselves the consequences of its approaching depreciation. In other instances a contrary progress of sentiment was manifested; and the South Sea Scheme, in particular, at one time raised such a flood of eager avidity and extravagant hope, that the majority of the directors were themselves swept along with it, in opposition to their own better knowledge and original purpose and inclination. With the rapacity there was blended the prodigality and improvidence congenial to habits of ignoble hazard; sudden wealth, actually amassed, or immediately expected, was spent or anticipated with reckless profusion; and tasteless

¹ About a hundred years later we have seen this commercial gambling re-appear as a national epidemic in England; though, happily, with less extent and mischief.

luxury, extravagance, and sensuality prevailed with unprecedented sway in England.

At length the various *Bubbles*, as they were aptly termed, burst, one after another, in rapid succession [September, 1720]; public credit received a staggering shock, and mercantile character and morality an odious and pernicious taint; vast multitudes of people found themselves reduced from affluent or competent estate to absolute beggary; and all England resounded with the wailing of grief and disappointment, or the raving of indignation and despair. The spirit of commercial gambling, which had lately prevailed in some of the American colonies, was doubtless animated in some degree by the contagious fervor of the delusion that reigned in the parent state; and an additional excitement to it was at one time portended by an overflowing of the stream of folly and frantic enterprise in England. A joint-stock company was formed at London for the purchase and cultivation of waste lands in Massachusetts. But the project dissolved in the general wreck of kindred speculations, before there was time to obtain the accession of any tributary associates in America.¹ The monstrous fraud and folly displayed by the people of England, and the infamy reflected by the foregoing transactions on their princes, nobles, statesmen,² and merchants, were calculated to promote other sentiments than respect and attachment to the parent state in the minds of the sensible and discerning part of the colonial population. We shall find in the sequel, that the deplorable scene to which we have now adverted was attended with consequences important to the progress of society in America, by suggesting, or at least promoting, the project which issued in the plantation of Georgia.

It was happy for New England that the seasonable close of the British commercial frenzy prevented the communication of a share of this malady from enlarging the catalogue of evils which her history at the present epoch discloses. The admin-

¹ *Private Life of Louis the Fifteenth.* Smollett. Hutchinson.

² Among other distinguished persons, the Earl of Sunderland, Aislabie, the chancellor of the exchequer (who was expelled the House of Commons), and Craggs, the secretary of state, were judged to have corruptly promoted the delusion of the South Sea Scheme. A seasonable death preserved Craggs from sharing the disgrace of Aislabie, and allowed his name to repose under the shade of the poetical wreath by which it was decked by the Muse of Pope.

istration of Governor Shute in Massachusetts was by no means productive of the harmony and satisfaction which its commencement betokened. Shute was a humane and honorable man, —diverted from ambition by the love of ease and social pleasure, —totally unaccustomed to the conduct of civil affairs, —and afflicted with a hasty and impatient temper, which habits of military command had not tended to moderate. His English friends had received and imparted to him a strong prepossession against the provincial party opposed to Governor Dudley ; and his unguarded demonstration of this prejudice speedily rendered the party which was the object of it inimical to himself. In Massachusetts and New Hampshire, at this period, a great deal of discontent was excited by the proceedings of certain officers of the crown with regard to the pine-trees reserved for the use of the royal navy on vacant lands. The second parliamentary statute on this subject ordained that the offence of cutting down any of these trees might be proved by the oath of a single witness, and punished, without the intervention of a jury, by a judge of the admiralty court, who owed his office to the crown, and enjoyed it only during the royal pleasure. Notwithstanding this arbitrary provision, which was highly resented by the colonists, there were many more accusations than convictions of infraction of the law. The people retorted the complaints of the royal surveyor of woods, and declared that he sometimes neglected to mark distinctly the trees he meant to reserve, at other times laid claim to trees which were unsuitable to the objects of the act, and perpetually harassed them with vexatious litigation. These disputes provoked a question of the abstract right of the British government to appropriate the trees at all ; and the people and their assemblies openly expressed their opinion that they were unjustly deprived of the produce of land which their own money had purchased and their own exertions defended and preserved. The cheap liberality of allowing a small price for suitable trees furnished to the British government by the colonists themselves would have accomplished the purposes of the acts of parliament in a manner much more effectual and advantageous.

Shute, offended with a remonstrance of the Massachusetts

assembly, in which they hinted that he had not fairly represented to the king the controversy between the surveyor and the people, requested that this remonstrance might not be printed; and when the assembly answered that it was their duty and their purpose to print it, he announced to them, in the heat of anger, and with an ignorance and rashness which he had occasion to deplore during the remainder of his presidency, that "the king had committed to him the power of the press," and that nothing could be lawfully published in the province without his permission. This declaration rendered him ever after an object of jealous dislike and suspicion to the colonists. In another instance, he broached a new and offensive pretension which was equally unsuccessful. It was the custom that the assembly, on electing a speaker, should present to the governor the person on whom their choice had fallen, and who was to be the organ of their official communications with him. Shute attempted to construe this practice into a recognition of the governor's right to negative the appointment of the assembly, and refused to acknowledge the speakership of Cooke, a distinguished patriot, and the leader of the party who were accounted Dudley's opponents; but as the provincial charter afforded no sanction to this pretension, his assertion of it, though backed by an opinion he produced from the attorney-general of England and the Lords of Trade, only involved him in a fruitless and irritating controversy. His importunities with the assembly to attach a fixed salary to his own office were equally unsuccessful. So far from gratifying him in this particular, they progressively diminished the allowance which was annually voted to him, — even while the depreciation of the provincial currency was daily reducing the real value of the salary far below its nominal amount. To the deputy-governor, William Dummer, they voted the niggardly pittance of thirty-five pounds; which he refused to accept, protesting that he would not disparage the honor of serving the king by uniting it with a pecuniary recompense so paltry and affronting. Shute subsequently attempted to soothe the assembly by conciliating language and moderation of demeanour; but it would have required more patience than

he possessed to disarm the jealousy which he had already excited.

The state of the currency tended to increase the public discontent, while it sapped the foundations of honor and morality. Creditors, clergymen, and all persons subsisting on salaries or the interest of money, complained of their losses and hardships ; and executors, agents, and trustees of every other description were exposed to the most potent temptations unjustly to retain the property of their constituents. The governor, who probably perceived that this evil could be radically cured only by paying the public debts and restraining the emission of paper money, increased his own unpopularity by opposing the project of a state bank, and other delusive schemes which were suggested for relieving the country of its financial difficulties. Through the gloom of general discontent and apprehension, the real blemishes in Shute's conduct were beheld in an exaggerated view ; the mistakes of inexperience and the effusions of intemperate passion were maligned as the indications of deep and deliberate design to establish arbitrary government ; and the whole province of Massachusetts was pervaded by the conviction, that public liberty was in the utmost danger, and could be saved only by a vigorous and united opposition to Shute's administration. Never did any people, in pursuit of a generous purpose, commit a wider departure from moderation, good sense, and equity. To such a violent and unreasonable pitch did the suspicion and ill-humor of the Massachusetts assembly mount, that all who were reckoned the governor's friends, or who honestly counselled a more moderate demeanour towards him, became the objects of its displeasure ; and Jeremiah Dummer, the provincial agent at London, having apprized them that Shute's conduct was generally approved in England, and that vindictive measures against Massachusetts were meditated by the British ministry, and would assuredly be embraced unless the people should evince a more reasonable temper, was dismissed from his office by the blind wilfulness which misconstrued his warning intelligence.¹ The assembly repeatedly compelled the govern-

¹ Yet the agent's intelligence was confirmed by communications from various English friends of the colonists. Neal, in particular, the historian of the

or to yield to their desires, by explicitly declaring that they would not vote his salary till he had done so ; and Britain was punished for her injustice in depriving the colonists of their old charter, by the habit they now acquired of contending with and prevailing over the representative of royalty. In the Indian war by which the presidency of Shute was signalized, the assembly openly invaded his functions, by assuming the direction of military operations, and requiring the officers to maintain correspondence with them, — declaring (with more manly sense than constitutional formality) that all who were paid by the public were the responsible servants of the public ; though they subsequently perceived the prudence of retracting and apologizing for this pretension. In short, the people of Massachusetts were at this time transported to such an excess of opposition and animosity against the royal governor, and the policy, real or supposed, of the parent state, that the assembly of Connecticut trembled for the consequences that might result to the general liberties of New England, and instructed their agent at London to keep a watchful eye on the proceedings of the parliament, and give heed that Connecticut might not be involved in the vengeance which Massachusetts seemed determined to provoke and brave.

The war which broke out, during Shute's administration, between the States of New England and their ancient enemies, the Indians inhabiting the eastern territory betwixt New England and Nova Scotia, was ushered by a long prologue of reproachful complaint, menace, and violence on the part of the savages, prompted by the insidious counsels of the French and their provincial officers in Canada. These Indians had repeatedly acknowledged themselves the subjects of the British monarchy, and in every treaty of peace with the English had penitentially designated their wars with them as rebellions ; seemingly without attaching much importance to this language, or even entertaining any just or fixed notion of its meaning. Extensive territories on the rivers Kennebec and St. George were purchased by the New England governments from the chiefs of these tribes at an early period ; but the lands remain-

Puritans and of New England, strongly urged the Massachusetts assembly to retrace its steps, "if it meant to save the country."

ing long unoccupied by the purchasers, the precise extent of the acquisitions was in some instances forgotten by the vendors, who possessed no written records, and who were permitted by the courtesy of the colonists to hunt and fish in every part of the purchased territory not actually subjected to cultivation. In some instances, disagreements arose between the two races, from bargains being differently understood by the English and the Indians, even when they had been conducted with much care and solemnity. As few of either race understood well the other's language, their treaties and other arrangements required the offices of an interpreter, whose honesty could not always be relied on, and whose deceptions it was not always possible to detect.¹ The Indians, moreover, were not at first aware, that the Europeans, by their system of agriculture, and the erection of mills and dams, would diminish the supplies of game and fish which the land and its waters had previously afforded; and when they found by experience that this was actually the consequence of admitting foreigners to settle among them, they repented of their hospitality, and were inclined to eject their new neighbours, as the only means of restoring the country to its pristine state.

Their enmity to the English was industriously fomented by the French, whose interests they preferably espoused, and to whose religious faith they had for many years been warmly devoted. Of late they were chiefly directed by the counsels of Sebastian Rasles, an aged Jesuit of great learning, genius, and talent, and still greater zeal for the propagation of the Catholic faith and the enlargement of the French dominion in America. He had now resided about forty years among the Indians, contentedly burying in savage deserts the finest accomplishments of European education; and deprived of all opportunity of exercising his high proficiency as a critic and classical linguist, except when his missionary labors afforded him leisure for epistolary

¹ It is curious to find that Indian tradition has ascribed to some of the earliest European colonists a trick precisely similar to the fabled device of Queen Dido for enlarging the site of the colonial settlement she founded at Carthage. This coincidence of sentiment and tradition is ascribed by an accomplished American writer to "the proneness of barbarous people, while they feel the superiority of civilized men, to attribute all the difference which results from the intercourse to cunning rather than to wisdom." General Cass's *Discourse before the American Historical Society*, 1836.

controversy with the ministers of Boston. He corresponded in the Indian tongue with many of his savage converts, male and female, whom he had taught to read and write; and strengthened his claims on the interest and admiration of their countrymen by successful attempts in Indian poetry,—or, to speak more properly, in poetical compositions, of which the language, imagery, and strain of sentiment were derived from Indian models.¹ His intrepid courage, fervent zeal, and ceaseless intrigue in behalf of his faith and his country rendered him an object of remarkable detestation to the colonists of New England,² and gained him the repute of a saint and a hero with the French. By the Indians among whom he lived at Norridgewock he was regarded with unbounded love and admiration, and they were always ready to hazard their lives in his defence. His ascendancy over them was diligently employed to promote the interests of France. He made even the offices of devotion serve as incentives to their ferocity, and kept a flag, whereon was depicted a cross surrounded by bows and arrows, which he used to hoist on a pole at the door of his chapel, when he gave them absolution, previously to their engaging in any martial enterprise. He encouraged them to believe that their forefathers were deceived and abused in the ancient venditions of their lands to the colonists of New England, and that these colonists were committing encroachments beyond the limits even of the titles which they had dishonestly acquired; and he labored strongly to impress upon them that the English traders by whom they were visited dealt fraudulently with them, and, by vending spirituous liquors among them, debauched their morals, and frustrated the good work that he himself was laboring to accomplish.³ This last topic was not less efficacious

¹ See Note II., at the end of the volume.

² When some of the New England traders, who occasionally met with him, threatened him with the vengeance of their countrymen, if they should ever take Norridgewock, his answer was merely a significant accentuation of the monosyllable, "*If*."

³ The conduct of his own countrymen, in this respect, to the savages was at least equally reprehensible. "We know," says Charlevoix, "that an Indian will give all that he is worth for one glass of brandy. Against this strong temptation to our traders, neither the exclamations of their pastors, nor the zeal and authority of the magistrates, nor respect for the laws, nor the dread of the judgments of the Almighty, have proved of any avail. Even in the streets of Montreal are seen the most shocking spectacles, the never-failing effects of the drunkenness of these savages," &c.

than the others ; though the Jesuit's allusions to it were much more successful in provoking his Indian disciples to anger against the British colonists, than in persuading them to a virtuous amendment of their own habits. It was, indeed, quite natural that the Indians should at once indulge themselves in copious enjoyment of the pleasures of intoxication, and yet blame and hate the purveyors and instruments of this vice. The dissensions between Governor Shute and the assembly of Massachusetts had unfortunately prevented the erection of public barter-houses ; and the Indians were still exposed to all the causes of quarrel and complaint supplied by the fraud and selfishness of private traders.

Acquainted with the hostile influence which was thus exerted upon his savage neighbours, Governor Shute, soon after his accession to the command of Massachusetts, held a conference with their chiefs, and vainly urged them to admit a New England clergyman to reside among their people. Rasles interposed in the discussion that took place, with a protestation, that, although the French king had ceded Nova Scotia to England, he never intended to include in this cession any territory to which the Indians themselves might justly lay claim. At first, it seemed likely that a mutual declaration of war would have resulted from the conference, as the Indians began by angrily reclaiming a great part of the territory sold by their ancestors ; but that extremity was avoided and the reclamation abandoned, by the advice of the elder sachems, who apologized for the language of their brethren, to the great disappointment of Rasles, who, in his letters to the governor of Canada, lamented the unsteady and irresolute behaviour of the Indians. An unfriendly peace ensued, checkered with abundance of dispute, and at length, in the autumn of this year [August, 1720], more seriously interrupted by an attack on some traders who resorted annually from Massachusetts to Canso, in Nova Scotia, where the Indians, overpowering them by surprise, robbed them of all their wares, and put several of them to death. This outrage excited the greater indignation, when it was known that some of the French at Cape Breton had openly assisted the Indian enterprise ; and, notwithstanding the anxious desire of Governor Shute to avoid an immediate recourse to hostilities,

the Massachusetts assembly passed an ordinance for levying a force and compelling the Indians to make satisfaction for the insult and injury they had committed. This ordinance was resented by Shute as an invasion of his prerogative ; and as the council united with him in denying its validity, no farther prosecution of its vindictive purpose was attempted for the present. Encouraged by their impunity, the Indians continued to repeat their insults and menaces ; and a strong party of them, marching with French colors to a frontier settlement of New England, vehemently accused the colonists of wresting from them the territory which God had bestowed on their race, and declared that they had now come to expel the intruders for ever. [1721.] After a long conference with some of the provincial officers, their fickleness, or their sense of equity, again prevailed ; they freely acknowledged that the claims of the colonists were just, and solemnly protested that they would never in future molest them. On returning to their settlements around Norridgewock, they were ashamed to confess the dereliction of their hostile purpose, and at once consoled their vanity, and deceived their pastor, Rasles, by vaunting the courage and firmness they pretended to have exerted in menacing the English, and in sternly refusing to make any concessions to those hostile heretics.¹ But whatever pleasure Rasles might have derived from this assurance was speedily counterbalanced by an open demonstration of pacific purpose towards the rivals of his countrymen.

On the death of their chief, the Indians, in opposition to Rasles' urgent advice, elected for his successor a sachem who had always deprecated war with the English ; and by his influence the tribes were persuaded to send hostages to Boston as sureties for their good behaviour, and for the indemnification of the injury inflicted on the colonists at Canso. Vaudreuil, the governor of Canada, was highly displeased and alarmed by this intelligence. In a letter to Rasles, he condemned the faint-hearted demeanour, as he termed it, of the Indians, and entreated the priest still to persist in stimulating them to warlike purpose. In aid of Rasles' exertions, Vaudreuil prevailed with

¹ To such tergiversation as this we may impute the erroneous accounts of these treaties and transactions by Charlevoix and other French writers.

all his Indian allies in Canada to send deputies to Norridgewock, to assure the Indians there of powerful support in any war they might undertake with New England. The government of Massachusetts, apprized of these transactions, indignantly complained of the perfidious hostility of the French governor in thus stirring up enemies against them during the subsistence of peace between France and England. But Vaudreuil was able to justify himself to his sovereign ; and apprehended little danger to his reputation from charges which the accusers were not likely ever to be able to substantiate by satisfactory proof. An application was then made to the Indians, requiring them to deliver up Rasles ; and on their refusal, a party of New England militia made a sudden incursion into the territory of Norridgewock, and would have seized the priest, if the Indians had not seasonably conveyed him beyond their reach. [November, 1721.] The assailants, however, obtained possession of Rasles' strong-box and of all his papers, which were found to contain the amplest proof of the intrigues by which he and Vaudreuil fomented the hostility of the Indians against the English.¹

This insult to their principal settlement and their beloved pastor failed not to excite the resentment of the Indians ; though the expediency of deliberate preparation restrained the infliction of their vengeance for a while. [1722.²] At length, however, it broke forth in such a burst of predatory hostility on the frontiers of New England, as provoked a declaration of war from the governments of Massachusetts and New Hampshire. Nevertheless, hopes of peace were still indulged by Governor Shute, who, though a brave officer, and incapable of declining the hostile overtures of a civilized antagonist, displayed extreme reluctance to martial controversy with savages ; and an attempt was made to intimidate the Eastern Indians into submission by the intervention of the Six Nations, whose

¹ Among his papers was found a dictionary, which he had composed, of the Norridgewock language, and which was deposited in the library of Harvard College. Holmes.

² This year the French colony of Louisiana was reduced to such straits, that many of the inhabitants forsook it, and united themselves to the English colonists in Carolina. The number of these emigrants was so great, that the Carolinians were much incommoded by them, and advised Bienville, the French governor of Louisiana, to take measures for preventing the farther desertion of his province. Holmes.

friendship the State of New York, by the wise counsels of Governor Burnet, was sedulously endeavouring to recultivate. By the persuasions of Burnet, the Six Nations were induced to send deputies to New England, who, after a conference with Shute and the Massachusetts assembly (whose disagreement seems not to have escaped their penetration), consented to threaten the Eastern Indians with an invasion from the confederated tribes, unless an immediate peace were concluded with the English. But whether the threat was feebly expressed, or the Eastern Indians were fortified by rage and hope against its influence, they paid no attention to it; and a series of skirmishing engagements ensued between them and the provincial militia. The savages, to whose success surprise and sudden attack were essential, sustained some defeats; but the military operations of the colonists were unimportant, and the efficacy of them was obstructed by the incessant disputes and collisions between Shute and the assembly of Massachusetts. In the close of this year, Shute, finding that the public prejudice against him daily increased, and having privately obtained permission from the king, suddenly departed from the scene of his authority, and returned to England.

The supreme command in Massachusetts devolved, in consequence, on William Dummer, the lieutenant-governor, who, though he had incurred some popular jealousy from his friendship with Shute, never ceased to demean himself with decent dignity, real patriotism, and sound discretion. He was a stranger to that punctilious pride which magnifies disagreements, prolongs collisions, and never graciously yields the strictness of political theory and ordinance to the irregular, but irresistible, movements of the general will. When he first convoked the two houses of assembly, — and, without alluding to the unhappy dissensions that had prevailed, announced that he was ready to unite with them in any measure calculated to promote the king's service and the good of the province, — Sewell, an aged counsellor, formerly a judge, and who had held office during the subsistence of the first provincial charter, addressed the audience with a gravity and simplicity of manner, and a primitive style of eloquence, characteristic of the fathers of New England. "If your Honor and the honorable board please to

give me leave," he said, " I would speak a word or two upon this solemn occasion. Although the unerring providence of God has brought your Honor to the chair of government in a cloudy and tempestuous season, yet you have this for your encouragement, that the people you have to do with are a part of the Israel of God, and you may expect to have of the prudence and patience of Moses communicated to you for your conduct. It is evident that our Almighty Saviour counselled the first planters to remove hither and settle here ; and they dutifully followed his advice ; and therefore he will never leave nor forsake them nor theirs : so that your Honor must needs be happy in sincerely seeking their happiness and welfare, which your birth and education will incline you to do. *Difficilia quæ pulchra*. I promise myself that they who sit at this board will yield their faithful advice to your Honor, according to the duty of their place." The prediction of this venerable counsellor was fulfilled : and, though some jealousy continued for a while to attach to the deputy-governor, and prompted the assembly to various acts of encroachment upon his functions, yet he finally succeeded in refuting injurious suspicion by steady virtue and unaffected moderation ; and was enabled to conduct the government with harmony, satisfaction, and respect.¹

The Norridgewock Indians, aided now by the cöoperation of all the other tribes in alliance with the French, carried on the war with great fury and havoc on the frontiers of New England. [1723.²] Among other inhabitants of New Hampshire who endured their ravages, were certain families of the Quaker persuasion ; of whom some were killed and scalped, and others, carried away into captivity, were treated with peculiar cruelty, for refusing, at the command of their captors, to *dance*, — a pastime prohibited by the sober canons of Quakerism. The escape of one Quaker was ascribed to his practice of keeping firearms in his house, a circumstance which perhaps contributed to the destruction of his brethren, by weakening the safeguard of their pacific principles. The Indian hostilities were encountered and retorted with the utmost skill

¹ Oldmixon. Hutchinson. W. Smith. Belknap. Trumbull. *Collections of the Rhode Island Historical Society*.

² Dr. Increase Mather died this year at Boston, at the age of eighty-five.

and bravery by the government and the militia of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, aided by a subsidiary force from Connecticut. The assembly of Connecticut at first declined to participate in the war, judging it a mere insignificant, partial quarrel with the Norridgewocks, and being induced to doubt of its justice by the reluctance to engage in it that Governor Shute manifested. But finally, ascertaining that their doubts had wronged the people of Massachusetts, and perceiving the extended hostilities in which this people were involved by French intrigue, they readily furnished a liberal contingent of troops and money to aid their friends in a war, from the troubles of which their own local situation might have enabled them to enjoy a cheap and selfish exemption. The Six Nations, notwithstanding the assurance they gave in the preceding year, declined publicly or generally to espouse the quarrel of the colonists; but declared that they had signified to their young men, that any who were so disposed might unite themselves with the New England forces. Only a very few of the Mohawks embraced this permission, and their services were brief and inefficient. To particularize the successive expeditions and petty engagements of which this Indian war was productive would involve a detail too cumbrous and minute for general history. The skilful vigor and heroic intrepidity of the colonists have been honorably commemorated by the provincial annalists, in their ample narrations of the various martial achievements, which, among other important results, contributed to preserve among the colonial population a spirit of military enterprise, and familiarized great numbers of persons with the hardships, dangers, and operations of war.

The most remarkable event by which the war was signalized was the sudden attack and entire destruction of the Indian settlement of Norridgewock by a force consisting of four companies of the provincial militia, amounting in all to two hundred and eight men. [1724.] The Indians were completely surprised, and defeated with great slaughter. The New England officers had given orders to spare Rasles, the Jesuit, whom they ardently desired to take prisoner; but, to their great disappointment, this remarkable man was slain by a soldier to

whom he refused to surrender.¹ Both the Catholic Indians and their French allies were much scandalized by what they deemed the sacrilegious impiety of the victors, who accounted it no sacrilege at all to strip Rasles' chapel of its plate, and valued themselves on testifying a zealous abhorrence of idolatry by destroying the crucifixes and other Catholic imagery which the chapel and village displayed. The Norridgewock tribe, after this fatal blow, never recovered their former strength or spirit ; but the war was still continued by their allies, the Penobscots, and the Canadian auxiliaries.

The conduct which the British colonists imputed to Vaudreuil, the governor of Canada, was so flagrant a breach of the treaty of peace subsisting between the crowns of England and France, and was so strongly attested by the additional evidence recently obtained by the colonists, that, in spite of the failure of their previous application, they were induced again to hope that a spirited remonstrance might inspire him with alarm at the responsibility he was incurring, and produce some beneficial effect. [1725.] With this view, commissioners were despatched to Canada by Massachusetts and New Hampshire, with instructions to demand from Vaudreuil restitution of the captives who had been carried within his jurisdiction, and to remonstrate with him on his unjust and dishonorable policy in instigating the Indians to hostilities with the people of New England. Vaudreuil received the envoys with great politeness, and at first attempted to deny that he had given any countenance whatever to the enemies of their countrymen ; but, closely pressed with proofs of his intrigues, which he was unprepared to meet, and especially with the production of his letters to Rasles, the Jesuit, which appeared to strike him with a penetrative shame, he could not help perceiving that the interest of his reputation, as a man of honor, imperiously demanded that the complaints of New England should be stifled as quickly as possible ; and, accordingly, he promised to do every thing in his power to dispose the Indians to peace, and

¹ About twenty years after the death of Rasles, his hostile policy among the Indians was resumed and employed by another Jesuit, of equal, if not higher, capacity, against the English in Georgia. See a note to Book IX., *post*.

to induce them to restore their captives for a reasonable ransom. The English commissioners remarked that they found the governor much more candid and amenable to reason, justice, and humanity, when they conversed with him alone, than when any of the French Jesuits were present ; and that Vaudreuil, no less than the Indians, was manifestly awed and controlled by these ecclesiastics, who possessed at this time a flourishing seminary and extensive influence in Canada.

The benefit of this embassy was experienced soon after in the discontinuance of hostilities by the Indians of Canada, and the proposition of peace and friendship by the tribes inhabiting the eastern quarters of New England. A treaty was accordingly negotiated with them soon after by Dummer and Wentworth, the deputy-governors of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, and by one of the officers of the British government in Nova Scotia ; and, unlike the fate of former pactions, it was followed by a peace of long duration. This unusual result proceeded from no peculiar excellence in the treaty, which differed not from the former ones in any material respect ; but from the prudence of Dummer and the Massachusetts assembly, in establishing without farther delay the trading-houses formerly projected at the rivers St. George, Kennebec, and Saco, where the Indians speedily found, that, in exchange for their furs and skins, they were supplied with the European goods which they wanted on better terms than they obtained from the French, or even the private English traders. A law was then enacted for restraining private traffic with the Indians ; but the establishment of the public trading-houses, where goods were furnished at a cheaper rate than private traders could afford, rendered the law as superfluous, as, without this measure, it would have been unavailing. Dummer engaged that the Indians should be supplied with goods at the same prices for which they were sold in Boston ; and the government endeavoured to reconcile this paction with commercial advantage, by making wholesale purchases of goods, which were afterwards disposed of to the Indians at the Boston retail prices. But the profit thence accruing was so inadequate to the charge of trading-houses, truck-masters, garrisons, and the vessels employed in transporting the goods, that the province

was practically subjected to a considerable tribute for the benefit of the Indians. However, the measure was generally approved, as tending to the preservation of peace, and more reputable than the payment of a pension expressly assigned for this purpose.¹

Meanwhile, Governor Shute was actively employed in prosecuting vindictive measures at the court of London against the assembly of Massachusetts ; to which there was communicated, in the year 1723, a summons to answer the complaint he exhibited to the king in council. This complaint charged the assembly with various encroachments on the royal prerogative ; particularly in the tenor of their resolutions with respect to the reserved pine-trees ; in refusing to admit the governor's negative on their choice of a speaker ; in assuming the appointment of public fasts ; in interrupting their own sessions by long adjournments ; and in suspending military officers, and arrogating the direction of military operations. The house of representatives at first received this formidable intimation with more spirit than prudence, — voting, with contemptuous brevity, that the complaint was groundless, and that an agent should be instructed to employ lawyers to justify their conduct. But as the council unanimously refused to concur in a proceeding so wantonly insolent, the assembly transmitted a particular answer to the several articles of complaint, and an address to the king, in which they justified every part of their behaviour. They also despatched Cooke, who had been the chief advocate of all the obnoxious measures, to defend them in England. The provincial council, who dissented from the house of representatives on every point embraced in the governor's complaint, except the disputed negative on the choice of a speaker, composed an address to the king on this point, but forbore to allude to the others, lest they should strengthen the hands of

¹ The cruelties which the Indians had committed during this war seem to have created the most violent antipathy against the whole Indian race in the minds of the settlers on the frontiers of New Hampshire. The Indians kept these feelings alive after the peace by visiting the survivors of families who had suffered from their hostilities, and boasting of the tortures they had inflicted on their relatives. The consequence was, that, "when any person was arrested for killing an Indian in time of peace, he was either forcibly rescued from the hands of justice, or, if brought to trial, invariably acquitted ; it being impossible to empanel a jury, some of whom had not suffered by the Indians, either in their persons or families." Belknap.

the enemies of provincial liberty at the British court. A more moderate temper, meanwhile, was gradually disclosed in the house of representatives, of which one of the first indications was the prudent measure of reappointing their experienced friend and advocate, Jeremiah Dummer, to the office of provincial agent in Britain. But, at length, after divers debates and discussions at London respecting the articles of complaint, the reports of the attorney and solicitor-general, and of the Lords of Trade, and finally the determination of the king in council, proved, all, in the most unqualified terms, unfavorable to the Massachusetts assembly. The provincial agents, in this emergency, by the advice of their English friends, consented to acknowledge that the proceedings of the assembly had been faulty in relation to the king's woods and the interference with military operations, and pledged themselves that such violation of constitutional principles would not again be repeated.

By the prudent conduct of the agents, and the interest of the English friends of the province, the British government was induced to propose merely that an explanatory charter should be accepted by the assembly, expressly declaring the governor's power to negative the speaker, and limiting the assembly's adjournment by act of its own will to two days ; — with the intimation, that, if this lenient offer were rejected, the whole controversy between Shute and the assembly would be submitted to the British parliament. An explanatory charter to the foregoing effect was accordingly prepared, and transmitted to Boston for the approbation or rejection of the assembly. [August 20, 1725.] Though the temper of the house was now reduced to a far more moderate strain than it had formerly indulged, yet, of eighty representatives of the people, no fewer than thirty-two voted that the charter should be rejected ; and a similar opposition was made by four members of the council. [Jan. 15, 1726.] But, by a majority in both these chambers, a resolution was carried for accepting the charter, and couched in terms of loyalty and satisfaction that imported rather the reception of a favor than the resignation of a right. This accommodating behaviour of the assembly, by which a controversy that at one time betokened the most dangerous consequences was amicably composed, has been

ascribed in a considerable degree to the prudence of William Dummer, the lieutenant-governor, and the influence which his liberal administration had enabled him to acquire. An interruption of the general harmony was portended by the announcement of Shute's approaching return, which, however, he was happily induced to defer by reflecting that he had strangely omitted to complain of the treatment he had received in respect of salary, and to obtain any favorable provision with regard to a matter so deeply interesting to him. While he was assailing the provincial agents with renewed complaints on this subject, and tarrying at London in lingering diffidence of their soothing assurances that the province would doubtless provide for him in a handsome manner, his return was intercepted for ever by the death of the king. On the accession of George the Second to the British throne, the intrigues of some London merchants and of a faction in the province of New York, aided by the interest of Colonel Montgomery, who had been groom of the bedchamber to the new monarch while he was Prince of Wales, caused Burnet to be removed from New York,—the command of which and of New Jersey was committed to Montgomery; and, as a compensation to Burnet, the government of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, withdrawn from Shute, was conferred upon him.¹

The disappointment which Burnet sustained by these ministerial arrangements was very severe, and perceptibly affected his health and spirits. Though embarrassed in his pecuniary circumstances, and an enemy to pomp and parade, he had conducted himself with such disinterestedness and generosity in New York and New Jersey, that he carried thence nothing with him to New England but the library which accompanied him from Britain. The hopes he had begun to indulge of repairing his fortune, and of executing his political schemes for the advantage of New York, he was now compelled to forego, in order to assume the direction of a people whose reported jealousy of their governors excited in his mind the most disagreeable forebodings of an unquiet administration. Very different were the sentiments which his appointment

¹ Hutchinson. Belknap. Douglass. Trumbull. Holmes. W. Smith.

inspired in the people of New England, who regarded the name of Burnet as a pledge of civil and religious liberty, and beheld with approving eye the wisdom and integrity by which already this name was illustrated in America. A deputation was sent to conduct him in state to his new government ;¹ and such a multitude of carriages and horsemen thronged to meet his approach to Boston, that he entered the town with a more numerous attendance and more splendid cavalcade than ever before or after graced the arrival of a British governor. But the apprehensions of Burnet were unhappily fulfilled, and the provincial expectations completely disappointed.

In New York and New Jersey he was distinguished by his indifference with respect to his own official emoluments ; but, either from a change in his temper, or from the strain and tenor of the instructions which he now received from Britain, this was the object of his earliest and most eager concern in Massachusetts and New Hampshire ; and the people heard with little pleasure the magnificent reception they had given him cited as a manifest proof of the ability of the country to afford him a large and permanent income. The assembly of New Hampshire consented to settle on him for three years an annual salary of two hundred pounds ;² but the assembly of Massachusetts, though they voted to him at once the sum of fourteen hundred pounds, besides handsome presents for his travelling expenses, refused to enact any ordinance for a fixed or permanent salary. It was in vain that he reminded them, that the wisdom of parliament, in the parent state, had made it an

¹ " One of the committee who went from Boston to meet him on the borders of Rhode Island, and conduct him to the seat of government, was the facetious Colonel Tailer. Burnet complained of the long *graces* which were said by clergymen on the road, and asked Tailer when they would shorten. He answered, ' The *graces* will increase in length till you come to Boston ; after that, they will shorten till you come to your government of New Hampshire, where your Excellency will find no grace at all.' " Belknap. Though a pious man, Burnet laid very little stress on modes and forms. " A little more caution and conformity to the different ages, manners, customs, and even prejudices of different companies would have been more politic ; but his open, undisguised mind could not submit to it. Being asked to dine with an *old charter senator*, who retained the custom of saying grace sitting, the grave gentleman desired to know which would be more agreeable to his Excellency, that grace should be said standing or sitting ; the governor replied, ' Standing or sitting, any way or no way, just as you please.' " Hutchinson.

² By this assembly it was enacted that the qualification of an elector of New Hampshire should be a real estate of the value of fifty pounds.

established custom to grant *the civil list* to the king for life, and expressed his hope that the representatives of the people in Massachusetts would not acknowledge themselves exceeded in duty to his Majesty by any portion of his subjects. It was forcibly answered by the assembly, that the cases were widely different ; that the king was the common father of his people, and that his interests were inseparably united with theirs ; whereas a provincial governor, after the close of his brief administration, was affected neither by the welfare nor by the decay of the society over which he had presided, and could not, therefore, justly expect the same confidence from it which the nation at large reposed in the monarch.

The governor demanded if it were consistent with reason or justice, that he should be fettered in the discharge of his duty to the king by dependence on the people for the means of subsistence ; and the assembly endeavoured to defeat or diminish the force of this, his strongest plea, by declaring their willingness to determine, annually, his salary, by a vote referring to the current and not to the past year ; protesting withal that it would be time for him to complain, when an inadequate or dishonorable provision was tendered. Burnet replied by reminding them reproachfully of the manner in which they had dealt with Shute ; and, in addition to the impolicy of thus identifying himself with the case of that unpopular governor, he committed the imprudence of threatening that the legislature of Great Britain would allocate a fixed salary upon the province, "*and perhaps do something else besides,*" — a vague menace of danger, which excited equal jealousy and indignation. He explained the meaning of it, in the progress of the controversy, by assuring them, that, if the British government should be provoked to call the attention of parliament to their conduct, the provincial charter would be dissolved without the slightest scruple or opposition. The assembly vainly solicited him to accept the sums they had voted, and to adjourn their session. He declared he was not at liberty to accept any thing but a fixed salary ; and, availing himself of the powers conferred on the governor by the late explanatory charter, he refused to prorogue them, unless they would comply with his demands. Some time after, he adjourned the session from Boston to the

town of *Salem*, which he remarked, with unbecoming levity, was a name propitious to harmony ; and declared that he would next try the effect of a session at the town of *Concord*. But this jocular treatment of an affair of great public interest and importance was not more effectual than his arguments and menaces had been ; and the assembly, in their several migrations, evinced a spirit not to be affected by change of place.¹ Some of the members now began to regret Governor Shute, who had declared that he would contentedly accept a salary of five hundred pounds a year ; while Burnet refused to accept a tender of more than double this amount. Strongly impressed with the justice of their cause, the assembly, in an address to the crown, declared that they were resolved, and were convinced that the same purpose would also prevail with succeeding assemblies, to provide “ ample and honorable support ” to the royal governor ; but that their fidelity to their constituents would not permit them, by the establishment of a fixed salary, to separate the interest of the governor from the general interest of the province. The presentation of this address, and the support of the assembly’s plea at the court of London, were confided to the provincial agent, in conjunction with Jonathan Belcher, whose public spirit on a former occasion we have already remarked, and who now exerted the utmost zeal to promote the success of his countrymen in a controversy so warmly and deeply interesting to them.

As the assembly were precluded, by their disagreement with the governor, from levying money to defray the expenses incurred by their agents in England, the funds requisite for this purpose were contributed by the merchants of Boston, whom the assembly thanked for their patriotism, and promised with all convenient speed to reimburse. But they were very soon apprized that their address to the king had been unfavorably received, and that the Lords of Trade had pronounced in a report to the privy council, that Massachusetts, with the most ungrateful disloyalty, was endeavouring to wrest the small re-

¹ The dispute between Burnet and the Massachusetts assembly excited a good deal of interest in the other American provinces, and in particular attracted the comments of the Pennsylvanian newspapers, which were first established about this time. Franklin’s *Memoirs*.

mains of prerogative from the hands of the crown, in order to render itself independent of the parent state ; and had recommended an immediate introduction of the controversy between the provincial assembly and the governor to the attention of parliament. Grieved, but not dismayed, by this intelligence, the assembly still refused to yield to the governor's demand ; protesting that it was better that the liberties of the people should be withdrawn by the British parliament, than surrendered by their own representatives. In this determination they were encouraged to persist by the advice of the provincial agents at London, who soon after communicated their private opinion, that, notwithstanding the recommendation of the Lords of Trade and the privy council, the royal ministers had no serious intention of bringing the matter under the consideration of parliament. The assembly, in order to animate the popular resolution, caused this private communication from the agents to be printed and published ;—an imprudent step, which might have been attended with the most injurious consequences to the province, if an alteration of the posture of affairs had not been produced by the sudden and unexpected death of the governor. The resentment he had excited did not survive him for a moment ; so great a peacemaker and tamer of human enmity, sometimes, is death. It was universally acknowledged that he had displayed an honorable, disinterested, and generous disposition in every particular of his short administration, except in the one unhappy instance in which he offended by an inflexible adherence to illiberal instructions ; and he was conducted to the grave with the respectful solemnity of a public funeral, and with demonstrations of esteem creditable alike to the liberality of those who entertained this sentiment, and to the merit of the individual who inspired it.

Jonathan Belcher, who was still in England, on learning Burnet's death, employed all the interest of the connections he had acquired as deputy of the province, to procure for himself the vacant appointment ; and the British government were induced to bestow it upon him by the hope that his influence with his countrymen would be successfully exerted to procure their submission to the royal instructions with regard

to a permanent salary. It would seem, indeed, that he gave some pledge or assurance to this effect ; and perhaps his view of the merits of the controversy was altered by the elevated sphere from which he now regarded it, and by the altered interest he acquired in its issue : the same constitutional jealousy of the administrators of executive authority, which he had hitherto deemed a principle deserving continual and unrelaxed application, might not improbably seem to him illiberal and affronting when it was directed against his own person. On his arrival in the province (in the following year [1730]), his first address to the assembly conveyed an urgent application in behalf of the very measure against which his counsel and his exertions had been recently directed. He read to the assembly the royal instructions, by which he was required to demand a fixed salary, and in which it was signified, that, if this demand were resisted any longer, “ *his Majesty will find himself under a necessity of laying the undutiful behaviour of the province before the legislature of Great Britain, not only in this single instance, but in many others of the same nature and tendency, whereby it manifestly appears that the assembly, for some years last past, have attempted, by unwarrantable practices, to weaken, if not cast off, the obedience they owe to the crown, and the dependence which all colonies ought to have on the mother country.*” The instructions concluded by directing the governor, in case of the non-compliance of the assembly, to return straightway to Great Britain. He added, that he was commanded to inform them that the king’s great lenity and goodness had hitherto withheld this controversy from the consideration of parliament, in order yet to give them a final opportunity of voluntarily demonstrating a due regard to the suggestions of royal wisdom. A merely selfish apostate from popular principles would, perhaps, have added no farther comment on this formidable message. But Belcher continued to address the house in a speech which affords a memorable example of the absurdity into which a man of sense, talent, and honor may be driven, when he swerves from the straight, simple paths of probity and consistency. He reminded the people of the exertions he had made to defend them from the measure which he now required them to adopt ; and declared that his opinion

of their past conduct in resisting it was quite unaltered. But they had now, he said, struggled long enough to perceive that farther resistance was unavailing, and ought accordingly to yield. They had hitherto, he allowed, opposed the royal injunctions with the same commendable patriotism with which Cato, in his little provincial senate of Utica, defied the tyrannical mandates of Cæsar ; but he hoped that they would not imitate the folly of Cato in committing suicide, instead of prudently submitting to irresistible power. In conclusion, he cautioned them to remember that the illustrative case of Cato was not in all respects parallel to their situation ; inasmuch as Cæsar was a tyrant, whereas the British king was the protector of the liberties of his subjects. This ridiculous harangue seems to have produced no other effect than that of diminishing, by its glaring absurdity, the displeasure which Belcher's conduct was calculated to provoke.

The assembly conceived that they were at once exemplifying the classical parallel which he suggested, and evading the immoral catastrophe which he condemned, by declining all voluntary accession to the injury of their own liberties. They voted him a handsome reward for his services in England, and the sum of one thousand pounds for the management of public affairs in the province, without any specification of the period of time to which this recompense corresponded ; and firmly declined making any other or farther provision. Belcher, then despairing of success, endeavoured to obtain a relaxation of his instructions, and easily prevailed with the assembly to present an address to the crown soliciting permission for him to accept the sums that were voted. This permission was granted, on condition of his persisting to urge the royal instructions, — a stipulation to which Belcher ceased to pay any attention, and which at length the British government itself abandoned by the communication of a general permission to accept whatever grants the assembly might think proper to bestow. Thus, successfully for Massachusetts, terminated her long and important controversy with the crown respecting the emoluments of the royal governors, whose dependence on the popular approbation of their conduct was finally ascertained. This result, and the manifest satisfaction with which it was regarded

by Belcher, secured to him some years of tranquil and popular administration in Massachusetts; but exposed him to the jealous suspicions of the British ministers, of which he experienced the inconvenience in his government of New Hampshire. The functions of the deputy-governor of this province, and of surveyor of the king's woods in New England, had been recently conferred by the British ministers on Colonel Dunbar, an Irish officer, whose only recommendation to such important trusts appears to have been his single-minded devotion to royal prerogative and despotic policy. Convinced of his merit in this respect, the British ministry retained him in his office as a proper counterpoise to Belcher, who, though created by themselves the superior officer of Dunbar, vainly complained of the intrigues by which his deputy endeavoured to collect a party against him. In the execution of the unpopular duties connected with his office of surveyor of woods, Dunbar conducted himself with a violence and severity that in some instances produced open resistance from the inhabitants; and because Belcher, sensible of the inexpediency of judicial procedure directed against a whole people, and aware of the provocation that Dunbar's insolence had given, contented himself with issuing a proclamation commanding the magistrates to execute and warning the people to obey the laws, he was denounced to the British ministers by Dunbar as the patron of the rioters and the enemy of royal prerogative.¹

It is not easy to understand the policy of the British government in the controversies we have remarked with Massachusetts, nor, indeed, to believe that any consistent scheme of policy was actually entertained or pursued. So often did the king's ministers forego their own solemn threats to submit the whole controversy between the crown and the province to the consideration of parliament, that the provincial assembly seems at length to have supposed that this backwardness must have been caused by a secret conviction that the parlia-

¹ Oldmixon. Hutchinson. Belknap. W. Smith. S. Smith. In a collection of original drafts of state papers, preserved by the late George Chalmers, and kindly submitted to my perusal by his executor, I find a letter (dated the 5th of March, 1731) from the Lords of Trade to the Duke of Newcastle, strongly recommending the support of Colonel Dunbar; and adding, that, "In Massachusetts Bay, it is but too evident that any man who does his duty to the crown makes himself liable to the ill-will of the people."

ment was inclined to aid the colonists in resisting the royal prerogative. Rashly adopting this erroneous supposition, or some other not less delusive notion, the Massachusetts assembly, a few years after, departed from its usual policy, and itself invoked parliamentary interposition, by presenting a petition to the House of Commons [1733], in which it was contended that the privilege of directing and controlling the issues from the provincial treasury ought to belong not to the governor (to whom the charter expressly reserved it), but to the representatives of the people. The issue of this proceeding is calculated to increase our surprise that the ministry should have hesitated any longer to extend the range of parliamentary interposition beyond this isolated topic of dispute ; for the House of Commons, on considering the Massachusetts petition, voted immediately that it “ *was frivolous and groundless, an high insult upon his Majesty’s government, and tending to shake off the dependency of the said colony upon this kingdom, to which by law and right they are and ought to be subject.*” A member, at the same time, having called the attention of the House to a censure which the Massachusetts assembly had passed on its agent, Jeremiah Dummer, for attending a parliamentary committee which required him to furnish information respecting one of the American trade acts, — the House unanimously resolved, “ *that the presuming to call any person to account, or pass a censure upon him, for evidence given by such person before the House, was an audacious proceeding, and a high violation of the privileges of this House.*”¹ Notwithstanding these demonstrations of the readiness of parliament to lend its powerful aid to promote the ascendancy of the parent state and curb the provincial assembly, the ministers of the crown, averse to the introduction of a wide and delicate discussion of colonial affairs and schemes of colonial policy, with which they were but slenderly acquainted, and fearful, perhaps, of strengthening the influence and opposition of the British Tories, and increasing the general distractions of the empire, — or, perhaps, from mere indolence and neglect, — forbore to execute their repeated threats of impeaching the

¹ Oldmixon. Gordon.

general conduct of Massachusetts before the parliament, and exposing the province to the extremity of parliamentary vengeance.

During the period that had already intervened since the peace between New England and the Eastern Indians, and for many years after, the history of Rhode Island and Connecticut consists of nothing more remarkable than the foundation and extension of the towns and villages that were formed within the jurisdictions of these States. At New York, a fallacious tranquillity was produced by the calm, negligent indolence of Montgomery, who had abetted the intrigues against Burnet with no other view than to possess himself of an office and salary which a premature death suffered him but a short time to enjoy. The intrigues which had conduced to his elevation now attained their utmost success, in procuring an order from the king in council, by which all the laws suggested by Burnet and enacted by the assembly of New York, with regard to commerce with Canada, were repealed. [1729.] This measure was productive of the most pernicious consequences; tending to undermine the English trade at Oswego, to promote the French commerce at Niagara, and to alienate the Six Nations from their fidelity to Great Britain.¹ The French perceived and diligently improved their advantage. Before three years more had elapsed, they erected [1731] a fort at Crown Point, in the very centre of the territories of the Six Nations, and consequently within the provincial limits of New York. This commanding post not only enabled them to prevent the attempts of English troops to penetrate into Canada, but afforded a convenient magazine to their own scouting parties, and a stronghold, to which, in future wars, their Indian auxiliaries might retreat from plundering and scalping expeditions against the English frontiers. So careless and supine was the government of New York, that the first intimation it received of this encroachment, and of its obvious consequences, proceeded from Governor Belcher and the assembly of Massachusetts, who offered to unite in an embassy to Canada, and in every ulterior measure that might be requisite to compel the French

¹ Trumbull. W. Smith.

to evacuate their settlement at Crown Point. But this offer, and the important subject to which it related, experienced equal neglect; although four companies of soldiers were now maintained by the crown, at an annual charge of nearly eight thousand pounds, at New York.¹

The change which a revolutionary movement had introduced into the government of South Carolina, about nine years before, was now legally ascertained and completed. A corresponding change was likewise extended to the northern province. Sir Francis Nicholson, who administered the government of South Carolina during four years, conducted himself in this situation with a judicious and spirited attention to the public welfare, which proved highly grateful to the inhabitants, and honorably brightened the closing scene of his political life in America. The intriguing politician seemed now to be lost in the eager, busy, and ostentatious patron of public improvement; and the distinction which he formerly courted from an enlargement of his authority, he was now contented to derive from a liberal and popular exercise of it. He promoted the establishment of schools and the spread of education, contributing his own time and money in aid of these useful purposes; and he prevailed with the English Society for propagating the Gospel to send a number of clergymen to the province, and endow them with liberal salaries in addition to the provincial stipends. He concluded a treaty of peace with the powerful Indian tribe called the Creeks; and by presents and flattering attentions gained the friendship of the still more powerful Cherokees, whose numbers amounted to twenty thousand persons, of whom six thousand were warriors. Although Britain and Spain had publicly signified their commands to Nicholson and the governor of Florida to maintain a friendly intercourse between the two settlements, it was very soon discovered that the remains of the Yamassee tribe, who took refuge after their defeat within the Spanish territory, were encouraged by the Spaniards in the predatory incursions by which they still occasionally harassed the frontier settlements of Carolina; and the government of this province, perceiving the necessity of guarding against

¹ W. Smith. Williams's *History of Vermont*.

the insidious hostility of its rival, began to cultivate the friendship of the Cherokees with a diligence and address that reminds us of the ancient policy of New York with regard to the Six Nations.

It was in the present year that the proprietaries of Carolina were finally divested of the authority which they had so long abused, in both the provinces distinguished by this name. An act of parliament recognized and sanctioned a treaty that had been concerted with all the proprietaries except Lord Carteret, afterwards Earl of Granville (who possessed an eighth share), for the surrender of their titles and interest in Carolina to the king, in consideration of the sum of seventeen thousand five hundred pounds.¹ Seven eighth parts of the arrears of quitrents due from the colony to the proprietaries, and amounting to upwards of nine thousand pounds, were also purchased by the crown at the same time for five thousand pounds. Lord Carteret surrendered his interest in the government of the province, but chose to retain his share of the property of the soil, of which an eighth part was assigned to him along the Virginian frontier. The two provinces of North and South Carolina were thus vested in the crown, which henceforth exercised the prerogative of appointing the governors, by whom the executive power was administered, and nominating the counsellors, who, in concurrence with the provincial representatives, formed the legislative assemblies. As a boon to the people thus assumed into a nearer connection with the government of the parent state, an act of parliament was passed permitting the planters and merchants of Carolina to export rice directly to any part of Europe southward of Cape Finisterre, in vessels manned according to the requisitions of the Acts of Navigation.²

In the following year, Sir Alexander Cumming conducted seven chiefs of the Cherokees on a visit to England, where they affixed their *marks* to a treaty of friendship and alliance with Britain, which was also signed by the Lords of Trade.

¹ The proprietaries who sold their shares were Henry, Duke of Beaufort, William Lord Craven, James Bertie, the Honorable Doddington Greville, Henry Bertie, Mary Danson, Elizabeth More, Sir John Colleton, John Cotton, and Joseph Blake.

² Stat. 2 George II., Caps. 28 and 34. Oldmixon. Hewit. Smollett. Holmes.

[1730.] When they were presented to the king, they laid their national emblems of sovereignty at his feet, and formally avowed themselves his subjects, and acknowledged his dominion over all their countrymen, who (they averred) had fully authorized them to declare this recognition. They promised especially to assist the English in the pursuit and recapture of fugitive slaves. They were amazed and confounded at the splendor of the British court ; comparing the king and queen to the sun and moon, the princes to the stars of heaven, and themselves to invisible motes in the rays of a dazzling effulgence of grandeur ; and, loaded with presents, both useful and ornamental, were reconveyed to their own country by Robert Johnson, the deposed governor of the proprietaries, to whom the king committed, once more, the government of South Carolina, — and whom he enabled to gratify the inhabitants with the intelligence of a total remission of the arrears of their quitrents, and of a royal gift of seventy pieces of cannon for the defence of the colony. [1731.] In consequence of the treaty, and of the impressions which the chiefs received in England and communicated on their return to their countrymen, the Cherokees, for many years, preserved an uninterrupted peace with the colonists. South Carolina now began to make rapid advances in wealth and prosperity. Two years afterwards [1733], a new race of emigrants resorted to it. John Peter Purry, a native of Switzerland, having visited the province and ascertained its resources, applied for a grant of lands to the British government, which agreed to give him a suitable portion of ground and four hundred pounds sterling for every hundred able-bodied men whom he should transport from Switzerland to Carolina. He speedily carried thither a hundred and seventy poor Switzers, who were not long after joined by two hundred more, and founded a town to which they gave the name of Purrysburg.

The policy adopted by the British government, of employing at the first the same functionaries who had enjoyed commissions under the proprietaries, proved more fortunate in South than in North Carolina, where Burrington, a weak, imprudent, intemperate man, as governor, and Porter, a man of the most corrupt disposition and brutal manners, as judge of the Court

of Admiralty, rendered the people for a few years as unquiet and unhappy under the royal as they had ever been under the proprietary sway. At length Porter was dismissed, in consequence of an impeachment by the assembly, who ascertained that he had never pronounced a single judgment without having first extorted a bribe ; and Burrington was superseded by Gabriel Johnstone [1734], under whose prudent administration the colony began to reap the benefit of industry, order, and submission to the laws. New settlements were then formed, and the population manifested a vigorous principle of increase. But many years elapsed before the factious, turbulent spirit which bad government had nourished among this people subsided. Governor Johnstone, perceiving the necessity of renovating the popular character, at every session pressed the assembly to make some provision for the support of public worship and the education of youth. Attending to the letter, but neglecting the spirit of his advice, they passed a law, totally inconsistent with religious liberty, for the support of a particular church ; and imposed taxes for the professed purpose of founding schools, but always diverted the produce of them to other applications.¹ The laws that were enacted for the formation of a religious establishment retained their force, for they were supported by the spirit of party ; but learning (says the historian of this province) was neglected, because she belonged to no party at all. Both in North and in South Carolina, vast emissions of paper money had been made ; a depreciation of the provincial currency ensued to the monstrous extent of seven hundred *per cent.* ;² and all the fraud, gambling, and embarrassment naturally consequent on such a state of matters continued long and severely to afflict the inhabitants of both provinces.³

¹ After the American Revolution, says Williamson, the assembly of North Carolina, aware of the bonds which connect knowledge with liberty, and ignorance with despotism, founded a university in this province. "The honor of endowing a public seminary of learning," he adds, "of instructing the rising generation, and training them up in useful knowledge, was reserved for men, who, by suffering together, had acquired mutual confidence and esteem ; for men, who, by securing their independence, had acquired a proper degree of self-respect and national spirit."

² That is, seven hundred pounds of Carolinian money was equivalent to no more than one hundred pounds sterling.

³ Oldmixon. Hewit. Williamson. Charlevoix's *Travels*. Wynne.

Pennsylvania still continued to enjoy a progressive advance in wealth and population. Sir William Keith was succeeded, in 1725, by Major Gordon, who, conducting himself with firmness, and at the same time with prudence and moderation, obtained general respect. But the illiberal counsel which Keith had imparted in the commencement of his administration operated after his departure. Crowds of emigrants still continued to flock to Pennsylvania; and in the year 1729 no fewer than six thousand two hundred and eight¹ European settlers resorted to this province. Alarmed at such an influx of strangers, the assembly in the same year enacted a law discreditable in the highest degree to Pennsylvanian sense and generosity. It was entitled "An Act to prevent Poor and Impotent Persons from being imported into this Province," and imposed a tax of five shillings per head on all new comers to Pennsylvania.² This scandalous obstruction of the provisions of nature and the common rights of mankind proved far more injurious to the authors than to the objects of the law. Many vessels, freighted with industrious and respectable emigrants, altered their original destination to Pennsylvania, and, repairing to New York, New Jersey, and South Carolina, enlarged the strength and prosperity of those colonies with the materials which Pennsylvanian illiberality had so unworthily cast away. Among other pernicious consequences, this Pennsylvanian law tended to rivet the bonds of negro slavery, by increasing the scarcity of free laborers in the province. It was not long before the provincial legislators became sensible of the impolicy of taxing the resort of men to a thinly peopled country, where labor was already inconveniently dear; and, hastening to repeal their unjust and foolish law, they derived, in their turn, a considerable

¹ They are thus particularized by Anderson, in his *Historical Deduction of the Origin of Commerce*:—

English and Welch passengers and servants	267
Scotch servants	43
Irish passengers and servants	1155
Palatine passengers	243
At Newcastle, in Delaware, passengers and servants, chiefly from Ireland	4500
Total	6208

² Proud, the Quaker historian, takes no notice of this law. On the contrary, he extols the virtue and wisdom of the Quakers, which, by rendering Pennsylvania a happy country, promoted the rapid increase of its population.

advantage from the oppression which the German emigrants endured shortly after at New York, and which induced great multitudes of these useful settlers to resort to Pennsylvania during the eighteenth century.

Thirty-one years were elapsed since Pennsylvania had beheld any member of the family which it acknowledged as its proprietary sovereigns. But now [August, 1732] Thomas Penn, a son of the founder, and himself one of the proprietaries of the province, arrived from England in Pennsylvania, and continued to reside in it for a number of years. His arrival was greeted with expressions of honor, affection, and esteem from the whole provincial population. Multitudes of people thronged to gaze upon the features of a Penn, and with loud acclamations testified the warmth and sincerity of delight with which they beheld the son of that great man, to whose talent, wisdom, and benevolence they owed their beloved country and happy lot. Entering Philadelphia at the head of a cavalcade of eight hundred horsemen, he received an address of congratulation from the assembly, framed in all the quaint simplicity of Quaker speech, — felicitating him on his arrival, — declaring that the memory of William Penn was an object of everlasting gratitude and honor, — and affirming, with some disregard of accuracy, that all the efforts and artifices of wicked men had ever proved unavailing to disturb the cordiality between the people of Pennsylvania and their proprietaries. [1733.] The Indians received him with equal regard ; and, at a conference which he held with them, expressed the pleasure with which they *brightened the chain of friendship* with a son of *Onas*. But Thomas Penn was ill fitted to sustain his hereditary honors ; and all the indulgence and partiality of the colonists were unable to disguise from them how unworthy he was of the sentiments which they associated with the name of Penn. His manners were reserved and forbidding ; his disposition sordid and illiberal ; and the large private estate which he inherited from his father in Pennsylvania, the only part of his patrimony which he seemed to appreciate, or studied to improve. A reception still more affectionate than he had met with attended the arrival of his brother, John Penn, the eldest son of the first proprietary, in the year 1734. “ What may

we not hope," said the assembly, in their address to him, "from the son of so great a man, educated under his care, and influenced by his example?" The mild and benevolent character of John Penn seemed likely to justify these hopes; but, unfortunately, his stay in the province proved of very short continuance. His return to England was hastened (as his father's had once been) by the conduct of the proprietary of Maryland; Lord Baltimore having now made one more ineffectual attempt to prevail with the British government to cancel the decree by which his ancestor was deprived of the Delaware territory.¹

The act of parliament which we have recently noticed, for promoting the commerce of Carolina, was not the only British statute relative to North America which was enacted since the peace of Utrecht. In the reign of Charles the Second, the provinces of New England were indulged with a free importation of European salt for the encouragement of their fisheries. The same indulgence was now extended, first to Pennsylvania, and afterwards to New York, by statutes² which declared that the interest of Britain required that the inhabitants of these colonies should be induced to extend their fisheries, "which will enable the said inhabitants to purchase more of the British manufactures." In England, landed property had always been exempted from responsibility for debts, except of a rare and peculiar description. But as the English merchants and manufacturers were generally creditors of their American correspondents, it was judged inexpedient to permit this exemption to have place in the colonies; and an act of parliament³ was accordingly passed, rendering all lands, houses, negroes, and estates of every description, real or personal, in America, liable for the satisfaction of debts of all kinds whatsoever due by the colonists to British subjects. An absurd attempt was made to enforce in one of the States an assimilation of the English and provincial laws of intestate succession. By an order of the English privy council, the assembly of Connecticut was commanded to repeal its ancient ordinance, by which all the children, male and female, of a parent dying intestate, were ad-

¹ Oldmixon. *Kalm's Travels*. Proud.

² 13 George I., Cap. V., and 3 George II., Cap. XII.

³ 5 George II., Cap. VII.

mitted to succeed equally to the whole of his estate ; and to substitute in its place the English law of primogeniture. But, happily, this impolitic measure was evaded by the Connecticut assembly.¹

The whole strain of British legislation with regard to America disclosed the purpose of raising up a nation of customers for the merchants and manufacturers of the parent state, and acknowledged the idea that the American communities existed solely for the advantage of Britain. Sir Josiah Child, in his *Discourses on Trade*, which were published about the year 1670, represented New England as likely to prove rather a rival than a tributary to the commercial greatness of Britain ; adding, that “there is nothing more prejudicial, and, in prospect, more dangerous, to any mother kingdom, than the increase of shipping in her colonies.” The same views were maintained by Dr. Davenant, in his *Discourse on the Plantation Trade*, composed in the reign of William and Mary. The House of Commons, in the year 1719, passed a resolution declaring “that the erecting manufactories in the colonies tended to lessen their dependence upon Great Britain.” George the First, in the speech with which he opened the session of parliament in the year 1721, observed, “that the nation might be supplied with naval stores from our own colonies in North America ; and that the cultivation of this useful and advantageous branch of commerce would divert the colonies from setting up manufactures which directly interfered with those of Great Britain.” In some of the provinces a manufacture of hats had arisen, both for the supply of the other colonies and for foreign exportation. With the view of stifling or checking this manufacture, an act of parliament² was passed, in the year 1732, which declared that it was highly prejudicial to the hat-makers of England ; and prohibited the exportation of hats made in America, even from one province to another. By the same act, all American colonists were restrained from undertaking this manufacture, without a previous apprenticeship of seven years ; and all provincial hat-makers were forbidden to engage more than two apprentices at a time, or to employ or instruct

¹ Trumbull.

² 5 George II., Cap. 22.

negroes to aid them in their business. The colonists had long carried on an extensive trade with the French West India Islands, from which they obtained rum, sugar, and molasses, in return for lumber and provisions. This commerce was menaced with entire destruction, in the year 1733, by an act of parliament,¹ which the English West India merchants and planters had sufficient interest to procure, and which imposed heavy duties on all rum, sugar, and molasses imported into America, except from the West India plantations of Britain. The fate of this statute was remarkable. So generally was it disregarded by the colonists, that the British government judged it prudent to connive at their illegal proceedings, and prohibited the custom-house officers from levying duties or arresting vessels in conformity with its provisions. Yet the law, which was thus practically admitted to be inexpedient, and suffered to be openly violated and contemned, was continued, by successive reënactments, till the year 1761, when an attempt was made to suppress the extensive smuggling to which it had given rise, by diminishing very considerably the duties it imposed. The *Hatters' Act*, as it was not a more liberal trait of policy, so it proved not a more fortunate exertion of power. Internal smuggling, which it was impossible to check, rendered it, from the first, almost entirely inoperative; and, as the provincial communities advanced in strength and spirit, its continuance was regarded by them with displeasure, as a badge of servitude and oppression.²

North America, at the present period, received a visit from one of the most admirable and distinguished philosophers that England or Europe has ever produced; and whom only a breach of good faith on the part of the mother country prevented from ending his days as an American colonist. Dr. Berkeley,³ afterwards Bishop of Cloyne, in the meridian of his fame, and possessor of one of the wealthiest ecclesiastical endowments in Ireland, conceived the benevolent project of improv-

¹ 6 George II., Cap. 13. It was for affording information to the parliamentary committee which digested this act, that Jeremiah Dummer incurred that censure from his constituents, the Massachusetts assembly, which provoked, as we have seen, the indignation of the House of Commons.

² Gordon. *Pittkin*.

³ "To Berkeley every virtue under heaven." Pope.

ing the education of the European colonists, and converting the American Indians to Christianity, by the ministry of a college to be erected at the expense of the parent state ; and offered to resign his opulent preferment; and to dedicate the remainder of his life to the instruction of American youth in this college ; requiring for his labors only the moderate salary of one hundred pounds. So powerful was the influence of this disinterested example, that three junior fellows of Trinity College, at Dublin, consented to exchange their possessions and prospects in their native land for a share in Berkeley's pious exile and philanthropic labors. Berkeley, having printed his *Proposal*, caused it to be submitted to King George the First, by the Abbé Altieri, who was one of a small society of learned men with whom this monarch delighted to unbend his mind in familiar conversation. The king approved the scheme, and commanded Sir Robert Walpole to introduce and recommend it to the House of Commons. A charter for the erection of the projected college was granted ; and a parliamentary address made provision for its endowment, by authorizing the appropriation of a considerable public fund for this purpose. Berkeley, accompanied by his friends, and carrying with him a large collection of books, repaired to Rhode Island¹ in 1728, and remained there for several years, preparing to lay the foundation of his institution, and awaiting the remittance of the public donation. An extension of his scheme, suggested by his acquaintance with the actual condition of America, embraced the religious instruction of the unhappy negroes who were detained there in a state of slavery. This was opposed by certain planters (of what particular province has not been specified), who had conceived the notion that slavery was legally incompatible with the reception of the rite of baptism. It was by no means an unnatural supposition of those planters, that the law of England, which declares Christianity to be *part and parcel* of itself, would refuse to authorize the infliction of slavery on those whom the ordinance of baptism had designated as the objects of divine grace and the adopted brethren of the Saviour of mankind.

¹ During his residence here, he composed his *Alciphron, or The Minute Philosopher*.

But there is something monstrous in the consideration, that these planters (except, indeed, such of them as were professed infidels) must, according to their own religious principles, have purposed to frustrate divine grace, and check the spread of Christianity, lest municipal law should compel them to grant temporal freedom to baptized and converted negroes. "To undeceive them in this particular," says Berkeley, "it seemed a proper step that the opinion of his Majesty's attorney and solicitor-general (Yorke and Talbot) should be procured. This opinion they charitably sent me, signed by their own hands; and it was accordingly printed at Rhode Island, and dispersed throughout the plantations." But no opportunity was afforded of ascertaining how far the opposing planters would have been satisfied with this guaranty of the slavery of the negroes' bodies, notwithstanding the emancipation of their souls. For Sir Robert Walpole, who never heartily embraced the project of Berkeley, was delivered, by the death of George the First, from the only inducement that had prompted him to support it; and the celebrated General Oglethorpe found his influence in parliament sufficient to divert the funds that were promised to Berkeley into a different channel. They were assigned to himself for the purpose of transporting foreign and British Protestants to the new colony of Georgia, which he had undertaken to found. After a succession of applications from Berkeley, and of excuses from the minister, Gibson, Bishop of London, at length obtained from Walpole an answer that left nothing farther to be asked or expected. "If you put this question to me as a minister," said Sir Robert, "I must and can assure you that the money shall undoubtedly be paid as soon as the public convenience will allow; but if you ask me as a friend, whether Dean Berkeley should continue in America expecting the payment of the twenty thousand pounds, I advise him by all means to return home to Europe and to give up his present expectations." Berkeley, informed of this conference by his friend Gibson, abandoned his scheme, presented a small landed property which he had purchased, together with a thousand volumes of books, to Yale College, in Connecticut, distributed the remainder of his library among the inhabitants of Rhode

Island, and returned to Britain in 1731,—leaving America enriched by his liberality, and improved, or at least invited to improvement, by his example.¹

¹ Bishop Stock's *Life of Berkeley*. Berkeley's *Works*. Holmes. Berkeley was so forcibly struck with the grand prospective career of American society, that he poured forth his sentiments on this theme in the only poetical composition of which he is known to have been the author. It is printed in the second volume of his works, and entitled,—

VERSES ON THE PROSPECT OF PLANTING ARTS AND LEARNING IN AMERICA.

The Muse, disgusted at an age and clime
 Barren of every glorious theme,
 In distant lands now waits a better time,
 Producing subjects worthy fame.

In happy climes, where from the genial sun
 And virgin earth such scenes ensue,
 The force of art by nature seems outdone,
 And fancied beauties by the true.

In happy climes, the seat of innocence,
 Where nature guides and virtue rules,
 Where men shall not impose for truth and sense
 The pedantry of courts and schools,—

There shall be sung another golden age,
 The rise of empire and of arts,
 The good and great, inspiring epic rage,
 The wisest heads, and noblest hearts :

Not such as Europe breeds in her decay,—
 Such as she bred when fresh and young,
 When heavenly flame did animate her clay,
 By future poets shall be sung.

Westward the course of empire takes its way :
 The first four acts already past,
 A fifth shall close the drama with the day :
 Time's noblest offspring is the last.

Sir Thomas Browne, in his *Prophecy concerning the Future State of Several Nations*, anticipated Berkeley's conjecture, and predicted that "America will be the seat of the fifth empire."

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APPENDIX II.

APPENDIX II.

State of Population, Laws, Trade, and Manners in the North American Provinces. — Virginia. — New England — Comparison of New England and Canadian Manners. — Maryland. — Carolina. — New York. — New Jersey. — Pennsylvania and Delaware — the Tunkers.

It is certain that all the North American provinces had made great advances in population [1733], both from native increase and the resort of European emigrants, since the commencement of the eighteenth century; though, from the total absence of reports of the population of some of the provinces, and the manifest inaccuracy and mutual contradiction of most of the reports that have been transmitted with regard to others, it is but an imperfect view of the actual advance at this epoch, that we are able to obtain. Partial, also, though somewhat ampler and more interesting, is the information (additional to what has been conveyed in the preceding chapters) which may be collected with regard to the state of society and manners exhibited in those provinces at the present period.

In Virginia, as we have already seen,¹ the number of inhabitants amounted, in the year 1703, to 60,606, — of whom about one half were negro slaves. The militia of the province then reckoned in its ranks the number of 9,522. In the year 1722, the militia-men amounted to 18,000,² — which, without supposing a proportional, manifestly implies a very considerable, increase of the general population.³ The administration of Colonel Spottiswoode in this province was terminated in the year 1723. His representations of the necessity of vigorous measures for counteracting the encroaching policy of France

¹ Book I., Chap. III., *ante*.

² Beverly.

³ Oldmixon's enumeration of 70,000 is certainly too low.

excited the displeasure of the British ministers, who were unconvinced by his reasoning and offended by his urgency ; and affecting to credit the secret complaints preferred against him by a party of planters and merchants, whose frauds in the tobacco trade he had detected and was endeavouring to prevent, they sacrificed to spleen and intrigue a man whose enterprising talents and inflexible virtue might have rendered the most valuable service to the interests of Britain in America.¹ It is remarkable that Burnet and Spottiswoode, the two most distinguished opponents of the policy of France, should both have been the victims of selfish and dishonest interests and machinations. Spottiswoode was succeeded by Sir Hugh Drysdale, of whose administration nothing farther has been recorded than that it terminated in 1727, when the government was conferred on General Gooch.

At Williamsburg, which was now the seat of government of this province, there were three public buildings, which were accounted the most magnificent specimens of architecture in North America, — the College, the State-house, and a costly structure which Governor Nicholson had promoted, and which bore the pompous title of the Capitol. A luxurious and expensive hospitality, and a great deal of card-playing, prevailed among the upper classes of inhabitants ; and hunting and cock-fighting were favorite amusements of persons of all ranks. A small work, entitled *The Present State of Virginia*, by Hugh Jones, was published at London in 1724. The substance of this uninteresting performance is embraced in the second edition of the work of Oldmixon. “In Virginia,” says Jones, who was a clergyman of the church of England, and had been a fellow of William and Mary College, “there is no ecclesiastical court ; so that vice, profaneness, and immorality are not suppressed. The people hate the very name of the Bishop’s Court.” — “All which things,” he gravely adds, “make it

¹ Spottiswoode remained in Virginia, and died there in the year 1739. His merit began to be generally acknowledged before his death ; and on the breaking out of the Spanish war, in that year, he was appointed to command the colonial forces in an expedition against the settlements of Spain. But he did not live to enjoy the returning smiles of royal favor. One of the counties of Virginia was named *Spottsylvania*, in honor of his services. “The name of Spottiswoode,” says Burk, “has descended to us with scarcely sufficient alloy to constitute a human character.”

absolutely necessary for a bishop to be settled there, to pave the way for mitres in English America !” Williamsburg contained a theatre for dramatic performances ; the first institution of the kind that arose in the British colonies. Many persons of high extraction, but narrow fortune, had repaired from England to this province, as a scene where humble industry was not exposed to the scornful glance of aristocratic pride ; and were soon enabled to exchange a straitened, dependent estate of insolvent gentility in the mother country, for wealth, respect, usefulness, and happiness in Virginia. It was customary also for young women, whom misfortune or imprudence had deprived of reputation in Britain, to transport themselves to Virginia, where, in many instances, a second spring of hope, character, and felicity rewarded their expatriation. Printing was first established in this province in the year 1729 ; and the first Virginian newspaper was published at Williamsburg in 1736. From Virginia and Maryland there were now annually exported about one hundred thousand hogsheads of tobacco (valued at eight pounds per hogshead), and two hundred ships were commonly freighted with the tobacco produce of these two provinces. The annual gain derived by the parent state from this trade was about five hundred thousand pounds. The articles of iron and copper ore, beeswax, hemp, and raw silk were first exported from Virginia to England in 1730.

A report on the state of Virginia, presented, in the reign of Queen Anne, to the Lords of Trade in England, contains the following statements. “ On every river of this province, there are men, in number from ten to thirty, who by trade and industry have got very complete estates. These gentlemen take care to supply the poorer sort with goods and necessaries, and are sure to keep them always in their debt, and consequently dependent on them. Out of this number are chosen the council, assembly, justices, and other officers of government. The inhabitants consider that this province is of far greater advantage to her Majesty than all the rest of the provinces besides on the main land ; and therefore conclude that they ought to have greater privileges than the rest of her Majesty’s subjects. The assembly think themselves entitled to all the rights and privileges of an English parliament, and begin to search into

the records of that honorable house for precedents to govern themselves by. The council imagine they stand almost upon equal terms with the British House of Lords." These statements were probably deduced as much from jealous apprehension as from accurate observation. The revenue of the provincial government was proportioned to the state of trade; a considerable part of it arising from a tax of two shillings a hogshead on exported tobacco. The quitrents, according to the calculation of Sir William Keith, yielded, at this time, three thousand five hundred pounds *per annum*. Complaints were frequently preferred by the Virginians, of the tyrannical insolence with which they were treated by the commanders of English ships of war appointed to cruise off the coast for the protection of trade. But the grievance which they chiefly deplored, and by which discontent and impatience were kept perpetually alive, arose from the pressure of the Trade Laws, which were rendered doubly severe by the heavy duties with which the importation of tobacco into England was loaded. Though sentiments of attachment to the parent state were still cherished among the Virginians,—already, says their historian, had they begun generally to question her right to impose the commercial restrictions. Their jealousy of the power and policy of England appears from the uniform opposition of the Virginian assembly to the royal recommendations for the repair of forts, "which," says Burk, "had ever been objects of aversion to the people of this colony since the celebrated memorials of Nicholson."¹

The population of New England had advanced as rapidly as that of Virginia. Massachusetts, which in the close of the seventeenth century was estimated to contain somewhat more than seventy thousand persons, in the year 1731, contained one hundred and twenty thousand freemen, and two thousand six hundred negro slaves. The trade of this province was

¹ Oldmixon. Burk. Keith's *History of Virginia*. Anderson. *Universal History*. Wynne. Campbell. "The greatest of their discouragements is the high duty on their commodities, the custom being often ten times as much as the prime cost; and if the tobacco happen to be of inferior quality, there is no abatement made on that account; and no consideration for defective crops, losses, or accidents. When the goods come to market, after custom and the factor's bill for commission is paid, the net proceeds prove but little. The poor planter is forced to pay exorbitant interest or grant a mortgage to the English merchant, who, having got the least hold of his estate, feeds him insensibly with money, till the whole follows at a mean rate." Oldmixon.

computed to employ six hundred ships and sloops, amounting to at least thirty-eight thousand tons, one half of which traded to Europe. About six thousand persons were employed in its fisheries. Connecticut appears, from numerous indications, to have attained a very improved and happy state ; but no account of its population at this epoch has been preserved. Rhode Island, which, at the close of the preceding century, contained about ten thousand inhabitants, in the year 1730 possessed a population of 17,935 persons, of whom 985 were Indians, and 1,648 negro slaves. The town of Newport, the metropolis of this province, contained a population of 4,640 persons, including Indians and negroes. The date of the introduction of printing into Rhode Island has not been recorded ; but the first publication of a newspaper in this province occurred in the year 1732. Notwithstanding its thriving estate, at the present time, its history is involved in greater obscurity than that of any other of the British colonies. Whether from the influence of Bishop Berkeley's exertions, or from other causes, its aspect in an ecclesiastical view manifested soon after his visit a considerable improvement. In the year 1738, the town of Newport contained seven worshipping assemblies ; at Portsmouth, there was a large society of Quakers ; and twenty-five assemblages for Christian worship had arisen within the other eleven insular townships of this colony. In the nine townships on the main land there were eight Baptist and three Congregational churches. Of the population of New Hampshire, at the present period, there is no account. The militia of all the States of New England amounted to fifty thousand men.¹ Iron was the only metallic ore which the colonists had undertaken to improve ; and there were now six furnaces for hollow ware, and nineteen forges, in New England. In the year 1730, fifty hundred-weight of hemp, produced in New England and Carolina, were exported to Britain.² In the year 1712, certain adventurers in Connecticut conceived hopes of great enrichment from the discovery of two copper-mines, which were erroneously supposed to contain also some veins of more precious metal. One of these mines, at Simsbury, was worked

¹ Anderson. Holmes. Warden.

² Douglass Anderson. Holmes.

to a great extent, but with little benefit to the undertakers. The excavation produced by their labors was afterwards converted into a prison ; whereby (says Trumbull) it yielded more advantage to the province than by all the copper that had been extracted from it.¹

There commenced about this time a series of disputes that for several years interrupted the harmony that had long subsisted between Massachusetts and New Hampshire. The arrangement, by which these provinces, though possessing separate assemblies, were subjected to the same governor, produced inconvenience to both. The inhabitants of Massachusetts complained of their occasional destitution of a chief magistrate, during the governor's visits to New Hampshire ; and the people of New Hampshire were perplexed by the disagreements between their governor and the deputy, who in his absence conducted the executive administration. One party, existing both in Massachusetts and New Hampshire, proposed to remedy this inconvenience by a union of the two provinces ; but the great body of the people in New Hampshire were desirous of the opposite remedy, of a distinct executive government for themselves. They were sensible, however, that as yet their country could hardly support the increased expense consequent upon such a change ; and to remove this obstacle, they endeavoured to enlarge their resources by territorial claims, opposed to the pretensions of Massachusetts, which produced a great deal of litigation between the two provinces. The trade of New Hampshire, at this time, consisted chiefly in the exportation of lumber and fish to Spain, Portugal, and the Caribbee Islands. In winter, small vessels were despatched to the southern colonies with English and West India goods, and returned with cargoes of corn and pork. The manufacture of linen derived a considerable increase from the resort of Irish emigrants to New Hampshire. Though this province has always been considered a remarkably healthy region,² it

¹ Trumbull.

² "A profusion of effluvia from the resinous trees imparts to the air a balsamic quality, which is extremely favorable to health ; and the numerous streams of limpid water, some of which fall with great rapidity from the mountains, produce currents of fresh air highly salubrious to those who reside on their banks." Belknap.

was about this time visited with a fatal epidemical malady, called *the throat distemper*, which afterwards recurred in the years 1754 and 1784, and on all these occasions was productive of great mortality. The symptoms were a swelled throat, with white or ash-colored specks, an efflorescence on the skin, extreme debility of the whole frame, and a strong tendency to putridity. Its remote or predisposing cause, says the historian of New Hampshire, is one of those mysteries in nature which baffle human inquiry.¹

The invention of inoculation for the small-pox, which Lady Mary Wortley Montague first imported from Turkey into Great Britain, was introduced into New England in the year 1721. Cotton Mather, of Boston, whose literary and ministerial merit we have already had occasion to commemorate, having observed in the *Philosophical Transactions* of London an account of this operation, and of its successful issue, communicated by a Turkish physician, and by the Venetian consul at Smyrna, recommended a trial of it to the physicians of Boston. The experiment was declined by them all, except Dr. Zabdiel Boylston, who adventured to begin with his own family, and afterwards continued the practice, notwithstanding the most violent opposition. Many pious people were struck with horror at the idea of an intentional communication of disease, which seemed an inversion of the purposes of medicine, and a wanton provocation of those sufferings which were ascribed to the unerring though mysterious exercise of divine wisdom and justice; and they protested that Dr. Boylston ought to be made criminally responsible for the death of any of his infant patients, and that all persons of mature years, dying in consequence of voluntary submission to the operation, ought to be accounted suicides. The more moderate opponents of the practice condemned it as indicating a greater reliance on the arrangements of human prudence than on the all-wise providence of God in the ordinary course of nature. The physicians of the province published a decree reprobating inoculation; and Dr. Douglass, one of their number, a credulous and intemperate man, distinguished himself by the warmth

¹ Belknap.

of his opposition to the new practice.¹ The people, in general, regarded the practice with abhorrence, and were incensed at the pertinacity with which its promoters continued to uphold it. Cotton Mather was reproached and vilified in newspapers and pamphlets; and Boylston was insulted in the streets, and his dwelling and family threatened with destruction. The house of representatives passed a bill for suppressing inoculation; but the doubts of the council happily arrested the completion of this measure, till the public were undeceived, and the manifest advantage of inoculation obtained for it a general and undisputed prevalence.²

On the 29th of October, 1727, while the sky was clear and serene, and a deep stillness and tranquillity pervaded the air, New England was suddenly shaken by a tremendous earthquake, which overthrew a considerable number of buildings, and prostrated many persons to the ground. On the same day, the island of Martinico was threatened with entire destruction, from a similar convulsion of nature.³

New England still continued to be highly distinguished by the religious zeal of the great majority of its inhabitants; and a zeal which was now entirely divested of its primitive bigotry and intolerance. All classes of the people had in this respect undergone a change. Some had become lukewarm and indifferent; others had learned to temper zeal with charity and indulgence. In the commencement of this century, Connecti-

¹ Douglass subsequently retracted his opinion; and, in his *Historical and Political Summary of the American Settlements*, imputed the original resistance, that the practice of inoculation encountered at Boston, to the immoderate eagerness with which its promoters endeavoured to overleap, instead of undermining, the public prejudice.

Among other literary champions of the erroneous sentiments entertained by Douglass and by the majority of the people, was Benjamin Franklin, then apprentice to a printer in Boston. Miller's *Retrospect of the Eighteenth Century*. Some pious Quakers in America appear to have denied, or at least strongly doubted, the legitimacy of the practice of inoculation. *Journal of John Woolman*.

² Hutchinson. Inoculation encountered a much stronger and more protracted resistance in Great Britain, where, so late as the year 1768, two surgeons, having attempted to introduce the practice into the town of Peterborough, saw their houses destroyed by popular rage, and only by flight from the place saved their own lives. *Annual Register for 1768*. The practice was prohibited by the authority of government, both in France and Holland, in the year 1765. A Roman Catholic archbishop, in France, pronounced, *ex cathedra*, that the disease of Job was the fruit of *inoculation* performed on the patriarch's body by the devil. Eynard's *Life of Tissot*.

³ *Universal History*. Holmes.

cut was disturbed by an outbreak of folly and frenzy, from a sect of wild enthusiasts who termed themselves *Rogerenes* (from a madman named Rogers), or *Singing Quakers*. They professed much veneration for George Fox, but dissented from certain of his institutions, in admitting vocal music, and recognizing the sacramental ordinances. They resembled some of the primitive Quakers or Ranters, in their predilection for disturbing public worship, and for walking naked; and rivalled the primitive Baptists of Munster in the scandalous immoralities which they openly committed, and which, at the same time, they associated with a profession of sinless purity and perfection. Their outrages were treated as offences rather against public order and decency than religion, and punished with a severity tempered by prudence and mercy. Happily, the frenzy proved but short-lived; and so little had it tended to revive the ancient animosity against the Quakers in New England, that, during the government of Belcher, the assembly of Massachusetts passed a law for making satisfaction to the posterity of those Quakers who endured capital punishment in the years 1658 and 1659. The same assembly decreed a compensation to the descendants of the unfortunate victims of the prosecutions for witchcraft in the year 1693. The legislature of Connecticut, in 1729, passed an act for exempting Quakers and Baptists from ecclesiastical taxes; and in 1731, a similar law was enacted by the assembly of Massachusetts. In the year 1718, the churches of Boston contributed four hundred and eighty-three pounds to the funds in aid of the Christian missions among the Indians. A proposition was broached, in 1725, to convoke a synod of the New England Congregational churches; but it was abandoned, in consequence of a royal prohibition, issued in compliance with the solicitations of the Episcopal clergy.¹

Although a great deal of Puritanical strictness still pervaded the municipal policy of New England, and much Puritanical formality still lingered in the manners of a large proportion of its inhabitants, the social and domestic intercourse of the people appears to have been distinguished by cheerfulness, refinement, and liberality. An English gentleman, visiting Boston,

¹ Trumbull. Oldmixon. Hutchinson. Holmes. William Allen's *Summary of the History, &c., of the Society of Friends*.

says Oldmixon, might suppose, from the politeness of conversation, and the costliness and elegance of dress and furniture, that he was in the metropolis of England.¹ Though Governor Burnet showed a dislike to Puritanic practices, and excited a strong opposition to his administration, yet the worth of his character was universally acknowledged, and the graces of his conversation generally admired. Belcher, his successor, who had a taste for pomp and show, set the example of an expensive style of living, by the splendor of the equipage which he maintained. The celebrated Charles Wesley, who paid a visit to Massachusetts in the year 1736, highly extolled the salubrity of its climate, and declared that he was even oppressed by the hospitality and civilities of the inhabitants. Yet, both Wesley and his illustrious brother at this time were members and ministers of the church of England. In a letter to one of his friends, Charles Wesley declared that he found "this New England more pleasant even than the Old," and could not help exclaiming, "O happy country!" Tea began to be used in New England in the year 1721. Boston was long deprived of the benefit of a market for rural produce, in consequence of an obstinate prejudice of the country people, who, believing that they themselves must infallibly be losers by an arrangement which would supply the townsfolk with a great quantity of their wares at once, squandered a great deal of time in separately and irregularly perambulating the town in quest of advantageous bargains and high prices.²

Hutchinson describes the inhabitants of New England as more concerned to procure the enjoyments of the table, than to exhibit richness or refinement of apparel; willing rather to simplify their attire than to extenuate their diet. The difference, in this and in other respects, between them and the French colonists of Canada is thus described by a distin-

¹ It is probable, I think, that the colonists were as *refined*, but, perhaps, less *polished* than the inhabitants of the parent state. Human nature and manners, receiving a polished elegance from habit, derive the higher grace of refinement from character and sentiment. A strong sense of religion,—a reverential remembrance of their fathers,—a constant and generous struggle to preserve their national independence against the French, and their municipal liberties against their own parent state,—were circumstances that tended to elevate and refine the sentiments, and proportionally to ennoble the manners, of the citizens of New England.

² Oldmixon. Hutchinson. Holmes. Whitehead's *Life of the Wesleys*.

guished French writer who travelled in America in the years 1720 and 1721. "Every body in New France," says Charlevoix,¹ "endeavours to put as good a face as possible on poverty, and scarcely any one thinks of laying up wealth. They indulge in good cheer, provided they can also afford the expense of fine clothes ; if not, they retrench in the article of the table, for the sake of appearing well dressed. A gay and sprightly behaviour, with great sweetness and politeness of manners, prevail universally among them ; and the slightest rusticity either of language or behaviour is utterly unknown, even in the remotest settlements. The case is very different with respect to our English neighbours ; and, judging of the two colonies from the way of life, behaviour, and speech of the inhabitants, nobody would hesitate to say that ours were the most flourishing. In New England, and the other provinces of America, subject to the British empire, there prevails an opulence which they are utterly at a loss how to use ; while in New France there prevails a poverty disguised by an air of easy circumstances, which yet seems quite unstudied. The English planter amasses wealth, and never incurs superfluous expense ; the French inhabitant enjoys what he has acquired, and often makes a parading pretension to much more than he really possesses. The Englishman labors for his posterity ; the Frenchman bequeaths to his offspring the same difficulties that attended his own outset, and leaves them to extricate themselves as they can. The English Americans are averse to war, because they have a great deal to lose ; and yet take no care to manage the Indians, because they consider that they stand in no need of them. The French youth, for opposite reasons, abominate the thoughts of peace, and contrive so to live with the natives, that they obtain their assistance in war and their friendship at all times."²

These differences illustrate the distinctions of national char-

¹ The letters of Charlevoix contain much curious detail and sagacious remark, — especially with regard to the manners, habits, and pursuits of the Indians. He sometimes relates very incredible stories ; and too frequently commits offences against delicacy, and even decency, — the less pardonable, when it is recollected that he was a priest, and that his letters were addressed to a lady.

² Charlevoix's *Travels*. See Note III., at the end of the volume.

acter that have ever prevailed between France and England ; but they are also referable in a considerable degree to the different systems of colonial policy pursued by the two parent states. France planted the institution of titular nobility in her colonies ; and for the special benefit of Canada, Louis the Fourteenth, by an *arrêt* in the year 1685, permitted all noblemen and gentlemen settled in this province to exercise commerce without derogation from their social quality and privileges.¹ This proved a most impolitic measure, except in so far as it contributed to produce or multiply an order of persons in the colony attached by the vanity of titular distinctions to the fountain of honor in the parent state. Many Englishmen of patrician birth, but slender estate, resorted to the British colonies, where, glad to be disencumbered of the trammels of *rank*, and wisely preferring plain but substantial comfort to meretricious airs of polished elegance, they associated with their unpretending fellow-colonists on a footing of equality, and sought to regain distinction by useful industry, patient self-denial, and vigorous enterprise. With the French colonists, aristocratic pride and vanity predominated over mercantile character and habits ; and as, by the ancient usages of France, the title and privileges of nobility, instead of descending, as in England, to the eldest son alone, were equally shared by all the children of the family, Canada was soon peopled by a numerous race of colonists whose eagerness to gain wealth was mixed with and controlled by a strong desire to make immediate proof of their *noble* condition, by the costliness of their accommodations, the polish of their manners, and the laborless liberty and self-indulgence of their lives. In the year 1721, there were² a greater number of persons bearing titles of nobility in Canada than in all the other colonies of France throughout the world.

A severer and doubtless a juster picture of the manners of the Canadian colonists, than the accomplished Jesuit, Charlevoix, delineated, has been transmitted by the philosophic Raynal. According to this writer, the French colonists who lived in the country passed their winters in idleness, sitting by their

¹ Charlevoix.

² Charlevoix's *Travels*.

firesides in grave and slothful contemplation of their own dignity ; while those who lived at Quebec or Montreal aped the gay dissipation of the nobility of the parent state. The men plumed themselves more on honor than honesty ; the women were coquettish, addicted to gallantry, and more gratified by attracting admiration than by either inspiring or experiencing the sentiment of love. Superficial attention and negligent exertion characterized both the agricultural and the commercial transactions of the Canadian colonists. Raynal ascribes their habits of indolence partly to the benumbing effects of the excessive cold of the Canadian winter, and partly to the numerous festivals of the Catholic church ; and their especial aversion to the labors that would have been most conducive to their own private advantage he traces to the ambitious policy of the French court, which, with the view of excluding the English from the fur trade, erected no fewer than thirty-three forts, at great distances from each other, and, employing the Canadians in building and victualling these forts, diverted them from the labors that ought preferably to have engaged their attention.¹ But the grand source of the evils peculiar to Canadian society was the institution, so pernicious to a young country, of an order of nobility, which inspired the Canadians with a contempt for rough labor and homely virtue, and a taste for strutting pomp, empty show, and idle gayety. To gratify this taste, the profits, which the steady New Englanders devoted to the improvement of their property or the enlargement of their commerce, were squandered by the Canadians on the vanity of ornamental decoration ; and the poverty, which the English surmounted by patient and vigorous virtue, was concealed by the French under the gaudy trappings of a pernicious luxury.

We may better conceive than commend that superior polish of manner which Charlevoix ascribes to the Canadians, and which appears to have coexisted with indolence, consequent poverty, vanity, arbitrary government, depravation of morals, and destitution of literature. At the period at which we have now arrived, printing was established in every one of the British colonies except North Carolina, and had existed for nearly

¹ Raynal's *Political and Philosophical History of the British Trade and Settlements*.

a century in New England. Yet in the older settlement of Canada there was no printing-press, even at the subsequent period of 1749. One, indeed, had been formerly imported into the province ; but it did not afford its owner the means of subsistence. The French colonists, more ashamed of the reproach of poverty or intellectual inferiority than of destitution of liberty, asserted that the Canadian press was interdicted lest it should produce libels against the government.¹

Not the least remarkable circumstance in the position of New England, at this time, was the discussion carried on in Britain as to whether the colonists were or were not aiming at the establishment of national independence.² Some of the members of the Board of Trade at London had long entertained this apprehension, and openly professed it ; and in one of the reports from this board to the British cabinet, on the recent controversies between Massachusetts and the crown, after a forcible exposition of the strength and resources of this people, and their systematic and determined hostility to royal prerogative, it was affirmed that nothing but an immediate interposition of parliamentary power could arrest the manifest tendency to independence. The colonists and their agents and partisans in England maintained, on the contrary, that these views and imputations were chimerical and unfounded ; and, in support of their plea, they repeated the arguments adduced in Dummer's *Defence of the New England Charters*, and protested that no New England man ever mentioned Britain but under the affectionate denomination of *home*, or *our mother country*.³ To provoke such discussions, to invite the Americans to canvass the advantages and probabilities of independence, was the height of absurdity and impolicy in the well-wishers to the ascendancy of Britain over her colonies. Besides alarming some of the colonists with apprehensions of precautionary tyranny

¹ Kalm's *Travels*.

² "In the state of society which had taken place in America," says a sensible American writer, "the foundations of her freedom were laid long before the nations of Europe had any suspicion of what was taking place in the minds of men." Williams's *History of Vermont*. This is a frequent, but erroneous, assertion of American writers. The nations and especially the governments of Europe rather undervalued the strength and the determination than mistook the sentiments and inclinations of the Americans.

³ Hutchinson.

on the part of the parent state, it promoted more generally, and by directer suggestion among them, a cast of thought and temper entirely at variance with that principle of superstitious, prudential, or mechanical adherence to usage, and acquiescence in a seemingly permanent system, which is so congenial to the human mind, and so important an element in the force of established authority.

At the close of the preceding century, we have seen that Maryland possessed thirty thousand inhabitants. Of its gross population at the present period no report has been preserved ; but, from an accurate scrutiny in the year 1734, this province appears to have contained thirty-six thousand *taxable* colonists, — a denomination including white men above sixteen years of age, and negroes, male and female, from sixteen to sixty. The state of society in Maryland is said to have borne a considerable resemblance to that in Virginia ; but less gayety of manners, and a less expensive style of living, prevailed in the younger than in the older province. A printing-press was established in Maryland in 1726 ; but it was three years later before Virginia obtained this advantage, though she possessed a college since the commencement of the present century. The immediate successors in office of Seymour, the last governor whom we have had occasion to notice, were Corbet and Hunt ; the latter of whom assumed the government in 1714. Two years after, on the death of Charles, Lord Baltimore, who had been deprived of his political functions on account of his adherence to the church of Rome, the title devolved to Charles, Lord Baltimore, member of parliament for the county of Surrey, who, being a Protestant, was reinstated in the full enjoyment of proprietary power. Benedict Leonard Calvert, a relative of the proprietary, was appointed some time after governor of the province, and was succeeded, in 1732, by Samuel Ogle. Lord Baltimore now made an effort to regain the Delaware territory, of which his ancestor had been divested when it was annexed to Pennsylvania ; but, failing in his purpose, concluded an agreement, defining their respective territorial limits, with the heirs of William Penn. The agreement, however, was not carried into effect ; and renewed disputes between these parties gave rise to a suit in chancery,

which was terminated by a decree of Lord Hardwicke in 1750. Among other advantages which the people of Maryland derived from their uninterrupted peace and friendship with the Indians, they gained a cheap and important accession to their medical resources from the communication of the knowledge which the Indians had acquired of the medicinal properties of certain vegetable decoctions. The salaries of public officers in this province were remarkably low. In the year 1732, the assembly declared tobacco a legal tender for payment of all debts, at a penny per pound, and Indian corn at twenty pence per bushel. Though the Catholics still continued to be the most numerous class in Maryland, the province now began to receive large accessions of Presbyterian settlers. These were emigrants from the North of Ireland, the descendants of Scotchmen, who, removing first to Pennsylvania, purchased there and cleared uncultivated lands ; and then, selling their plantations to German emigrants, fixed their own final settlement in the frontier counties of Virginia and Maryland.¹

Both of the provinces of Carolina had made considerable advances in population since the commencement of the century ; but we hear of no attempt to ascertain the number of inhabitants in the northern province at the present period ; nor is there any other known and notable circumstance of its condition that has not been already recorded in the preceding chapter. Its population, as we have already seen, amounted in the year 1710 to six thousand persons ; some increase had doubtless occurred since that time ; and a few years after the present epoch, a vigorous growth attested the improvement which the provincial institutions and the condition of the people had undergone. As yet, and for a considerable time after, they formed the most turbulent, irreligious, and illiterate community in North America. In the year 1700, the population of South Carolina is said to have amounted to no more than five thousand five hundred and six persons. In 1723, it amounted to thirty-two thousand, of whom eighteen thousand were negro slaves, and only fourteen thousand white persons in a state of freedom or of temporary servitude. Four hundred and thirty-nine slaves, together with goods and manufactures to the value of

¹ Oldmixon. Douglass. Holmes.

about sixty thousand pounds sterling, were imported into this province in the year 1724 ; and in exchange for these commodities there were exported to England eighteen thousand barrels of rice, fifty-two thousand barrels of pitch, tar, and turpentine, together with a quantity of deer-skins, furs, and raw silk. In addition to this trade, which was carried on almost entirely in British ships, the province maintained an extensive commercial intercourse with the West Indies, New England, Pennsylvania, and New York ; to the latter of which it appears to have sent frequent cargoes of slaves. In 1730, it was ascertained that the exports of rice from South Carolina, during the ten preceding years, were 264,488 barrels, containing 44,081 tons. In this year, the negroes amounted in number to twenty-eight thousand ; and, emboldened by their numerical superiority, they laid a plot for a general massacre of the white people, which, however, was seasonably discovered and defeated.

Undeterred by this intimation of danger, the colonists continued to receive the copious supplies of additional negroes tendered to them by the slave-merchants of Britain, and demanded by the increasing cultivation of rice ; and in the year 1731, no fewer than fifteen hundred negroes were imported into South Carolina.¹ In the same year, upwards of two hundred merchant-vessels sailed from Charleston ; and there were shipped from this port above forty thousand barrels of rice, besides deer-skins, furs, naval stores, and provisions. Happily for South Carolina, its population was not reinforced from without by negroes alone. We have remarked the arrival of a body of Swiss emigrants on its shores in 1733 ; and about four years after, vast multitudes of Irish husbandmen began to flock to it as a happy refuge from the oppressive exactions of landlords and bishops in their native land. Yet, from the year 1720 till the year 1765, the slaves in South Carolina continued greatly and increasingly to outnumber the white inhabitants. To the lamentable consequences of this state of society we have already had occasion to advert ;² and farther occasion will be

¹ In 1728, the British parliament instituted an inquiry into the state of the African trade, from which it appeared that in three years only the number of negroes imported into Barbadoes, Jamaica, and Antigua amounted to forty-two thousand. *Universal History*.

² Book IV., Chap. II., *ante*.

supplied in the progress of Carolinian history. In the year 1734, the assembly of South Carolina, in an address to the king on the state of the province, declared that they were "subject to many intestine dangers from the great number of negroes that are now among us." The continual suspicion and insecurity to which the colonists were exposed was strongly indicated by an ordinance of the legislature, commanding all the inhabitants to carry arms with them to their assemblies for divine worship. By another law, which was passed a few years afterwards, the importation of additional negroes into the province was taxed so heavily as to be virtually prohibited; but this law was very soon abolished. In addition to the danger which they incurred from the vindictive hatred of their slaves, the security of the inhabitants had long been menaced by the vicinity of the Spaniards; and a new source of alarm was latterly created by the progressive advances of the French settlements in Louisiana, and the alliance which this people succeeded in forming with a considerable portion of the Indian tribe called the Creeks.

Frugal habits prevailed generally among the planters of South Carolina at this period, and doubtless contributed to the rapid advancement of the provincial prosperity. Luxury had not yet gained admission among them. Except rum, sugar, tea, and coffee, their diet was derived entirely from their own plantations. Printing was introduced into this province in the year 1730, and a newspaper established in 1734. A great majority of the inhabitants, including the posterity of the Dissenters, who repaired to the colony soon after its foundation, were now attached to the established Episcopal church. Presbyterianism, however, enjoyed a tolerated existence, and was maintained by fresh emigrations from Ireland and Scotland.¹

In the year 1724, a vehement eruption of immoral and impious frenzy occurred among some families of French refugees, who had emigrated to South Carolina in consequence of the revo-

¹ John Wesley paid a visit to Charleston in the year 1737. "It being the time of their annual visitation," he relates, "I had the pleasure of meeting with the clergy of South Carolina; among whom, in the afternoon, there was such a conversation for several hours, on *Christ our Righteousness*, as I had not heard at any visitation in England, or hardly on any other occasion." John Wesley's *Journal*.

cation of the edict of Nantes ; and was supposed to have been occasioned by the ill-advised study of the writings of the German mystic, Jacob Behmen. The unhappy victims of this delusion professed to be guided in every action of their lives by the immediate and sensible impulse of the Spirit of God, and disregarded all the recorded precepts and doctrines of religion that withstood any imagined suggestion derived from that peculiar source. They renounced social intercourse with all the rest of mankind, whom they believed to be devoted to a speedy and inevitable destruction ; and, in the commission of incest and adultery, plumed themselves on their faithful obedience to the inspirations of infallible wisdom. At first, they declared that the unlawfulness of carrying arms was plainly revealed to them ; but finding that the civil power was preparing to punish them for the scandalous immorality of their lives, they asserted that a posterior and counter revelation authorized them to defend their persons against the violence of persecutors, and their substance against the robberies of ungodly men. Armed with muskets, they fired upon a company of militia who were sent to apprehend them, and killed the captain, besides wounding several of the men ; but they were soon overpowered and brought to trial. Four of them were condemned to die for murder ; but still continued for a while to boast of their wickedness as the perfection of piety and virtue. However, their frenzied visions gradually faded away ; compunctious horror and remorse succeeded ; and at the place of execution they implored divine pardon of the monstrous crimes and blasphemies into which lawless thought and spiritual pride had betrayed them. The delusion was not propagated any farther.

During the summer of 1728, the weather in South Carolina proved uncommonly hot ; the surface of the earth was parched, the pools of water were dried up, and the beasts of the field reduced to the greatest distress. This affliction was followed in the autumn by a furious hurricane, which occasioned a great destruction of property. In the same year, that dreadful pestilence, the yellow fever, broke forth to an extent and with a malignity that swept multitudes of the planters and their negroes

to an untimely grave,¹ — the impartial refuge of the oppressed and their oppressors.

Within a very few years after the present epoch, a great and sudden change was produced in the condition of South Carolina and the manners of its inhabitants by that influx of wealth which resulted from the fostering care of the parent state and the plantation of the neighbouring colony of Georgia. A general competition then arose among the Carolinian planters to enlarge their estates ; many of them rapidly accumulated large fortunes, and a luxurious and expensive style of living began to prevail in the province.

The population of New York, which in the year 1701 amounted to thirty thousand persons, had advanced in the year 1732 to upwards of sixty thousand, of whom about seven thousand were slaves.² The value of goods annually imported by this colony from Great Britain was computed to be not less than one hundred thousand pounds. In the year 1736, the custom-house books contained entries of two hundred and eleven vessels arriving with cargoes at the port of New York, and two hundred and twenty-two departing with cargoes from it. A large contraband trade was pursued with Holland and Hamburg, in spite of all the efforts of the British government to suppress it by the multiplication of custom-house officers. The inhabitants of late had generally contracted a taste for tea ; and it was found quite impracticable to enforce the exclusive right of the English East India Company to import this article, while the colonists could procure it at a price thirty *per cent.* lower from foreigners. A continual struggle was maintained between the provincial merchants and the British custom-house officers, who, unable to check the really contraband trade, frequently arrested vessels plying between the port of New York and other places within the limits of the colony, under pretence that they were conducting or

¹ Hewit. *Universal History*. Dwight's *Travels*. *Description of South Carolina* (1761). Drayton. Oldmixon gives the following table of the wages of labor about this period in Carolina : —

A tailor, . . .	5s. 0d. a day.
A shoemaker, . .	2s. 6d. almost as cheap as in England.
A smith, . . .	7s. 6d. three times as dear as in England.
A weaver, . . .	3s. 0d.
A bricklayer, . .	6s. 0d.
A cooper, . . .	4s. 0d.

² Holmes.

aiding foreign smuggling. An act of the provincial assembly, in 1724, imposed severe penalties on custom-house officers committing such molestation. The metropolis of this province had not increased in proportion to the general population, and seems to have contained little more than eight thousand inhabitants. New York is the first of the North American States in which we find Jews particularized as a part of the population. Of the first resort of this widely wandering race to the New World no memorial has been preserved; but before the middle of the present century, they had increased to a numerous and thriving society in this province, and possessed a synagogue in the town of New York.¹ They enjoyed equal rights and privileges with the rest of the free inhabitants; and, among others, the privilege of holding negroes in a state of slavery. A statute of the New York assembly, passed in the year 1730, commences with the legislative axiom, that "slaves are the property of Christians or Jews." A tax was imposed on the importation of slaves; of whom a considerable supply was annually derived from the province of South Carolina. Slaves, attempting to set fire to the dwellings of free men, were burned alive. In the year 1741, thirteen slaves were burned, eighteen were hanged, and many more transported from New York to the West Indies for this offence. Numerous ordinances occur in the statute-book of New York, for preventing the desertion of slaves from Albany to the French settlements in Canada.

An act of the New York assembly, in 1721, declared that the province was much infested by the resort of idle and necessitous persons, chiefly fugitive debtors and criminals, from the other British plantations; and authorized justices of the peace to require surety from all new settlers that they would not become chargeable to the community, and to banish all dissolute

¹ The number of Jews in America excited some foolish alarm in England in the year 1753, when the parliament repealed a law which had been made not long before for naturalizing Jews, resident in Britain. Another act still subsisted, by which Jews resident for seven years in any of the American colonies were entitled to become naturalized subjects of Britain; and fears arose that England would be inundated with naturalized Jews from America. But an attempt to procure the repeal of this last-mentioned statute proved ineffectual. Smollett.

I do not recollect, in all my reading, a single notice or memorial of the presence of Gypsies in North America.

vagabonds, and all persons whom they might *suspect* of inability to support themselves. All lotteries were prohibited by an act passed in the same year ; and which declared, with solid wisdom, that it was of pernicious consequence, that property, instead of being acquired by industry and exchanged by barter, should be distributed by chance. The inhabitants of the remote districts of the province were supplied with wares by hawkers and pedlers ; and from various legislative acts, it appears that a part of the public revenue was derived from duties on the licenses which these itinerant chapmen were required to obtain from the government. In the year 1732, there was founded, by an act of the provincial legislature, a public school in the city of New York for teaching Latin, Greek, and mathematics. A number of Quakers resorted to this province soon after its annexation to the British empire ; but it was not till the year 1734, that Quakers in New York were placed on the same footing with Quakers in England, by an act of assembly which recited and adopted all the statutes of the British parliament in favor of these sectaries. Among other reasons for this measure, the preamble of the act declares, “ that it is most agreeable to his Majesty’s royal intentions, that the legislature of this colony should, in all their laws and proceedings, conform themselves, as near as may be, to the constitutions of England ; and that, therefore, they cannot more effectually recommend themselves to his Majesty’s grace and favor than by imitating the example of the parliament of Great Britain.”

While a strong tincture of Dutch manners continued to pervade all the various races of people of whom the population of this province was composed, and to be visible especially in the neatness and cleanliness of domestic accommodations, the prevalence of English tastes was attested by some of the public amusements, and particularly by the practice of horseracing, which became a frequent and favorite pastime in Long Island. The citizens of New York were distinguished by their sprightly tempers and sociable manners. The men assembled in weekly evening clubs ; and during the winter, the united entertainment of both sexes was supplied by assemblies for dancing and concerts of music. The style of living was, however, less gay and expensive, and there was less inequality

of fortune at New York than at Boston. Sobriety of deportment and a close attention to pecuniary gain prevailed almost universally. Many of the French Protestant emigrants to this province were persons of considerable attainments in literature. They enlivened the colonial society by the gayety of their manners, and improved it by the useful arts which they imported from their native land. They have been described as a remarkably frugal, cheerful, patient, and contented race of people. The colonists, in general, were healthy and robust, taller, but shorter-lived, than the inhabitants of Europe. They appear, says Smith, to arrive sooner than Europeans at maturity both of mind and body, and to incur in both these respects a proportionally earlier decay. The medical profession was totally unregulated, and open to every pretender; the province abounded with empirical practitioners of physic; and yet the assembly granted certain privileges to every person who thought fit to assume this profession, and, in particular, an exemption from the general liability to discharge the office of constable. A newspaper was first published at New York in the year 1725; and there was now one bookseller's shop in the city.

The government of this province, observing the influence which the French exercised over the Indians by the instrumentality of the Jesuit missionaries, made some ineffectual attempts to procure a similar advantage from the ministry of Protestant preachers among the Six Nations. Governor Hunter, at a conference with the sachems of this confederacy, after presenting them with a quantity of clothes, informed them that the British queen desired to clothe their souls as well as their bodies, and proposed for this purpose to send a number of Protestant missionaries into their territories. The Indians politely, but resolutely, declined the proposition; adding, that it would be a demonstration of greater kindness to send a few blacksmiths to reside among them, and that several of the ministers who had already come to them from New York had encouraged them in the evil practice of drinking brandy. Oldmixon, who relates this conference, and whose partialities are all opposed to the Puritans, observes, nevertheless, that the Indians were generally struck with the difference between

missionaries who were *hired* to visit them and the earnest and self-denying missionaries of New England. The Indians always inquired, with anxious desire and acute penetration, what it was that really prompted their teachers to address them ;¹ they were awed and affected by the demonstration of sincere and disinterested concern for their welfare ; and never failed to manifest contempt or indifference for ministers in whom they detected the motive of pecuniary gain, or concern for temporal advantage.²

Nothing could be more tranquil and prosperous than the condition which New Jersey had now for many years enjoyed. But if we would ascertain the fruits and particulars of this silent prosperity, we must look forward to the year 1738. At the close of the preceding century, New Jersey possessed about 15,000 inhabitants ; in the year 1738, it contained 47,367, of whom 3,981 were slaves. The manufactures established in the province remained nearly stationary ; but its trade had considerably increased. With the view of still farther improving their social condition, as well as from a sense of their increasing political importance, the people were generally desirous of an alteration of the practice according to which the administration of their executive government was included in the commission of the governor of New York, and, in the year 1728, the assembly petitioned the king that a separate governor might be appointed for New Jersey. They complained of the hardship of being obliged to contribute a salary to a governor who spent it in New York ; and undertook to make a liberal provision for any governor whom his Majesty would appoint exclusively for themselves. Their petition met with little attention till the year 1736, when the Lords of Trade presented a report in its favor to the privy council ; and two years after, Lewis Morris, who had been formerly chief justice of New York, an eccentric, but able and active man, extremely disputatious, yet honorable and upright, was appointed the first royal governor who presided in New Jersey separately from New York. The governor's salary, which had been

¹ "I love to feel where words come from," said an Indian to Woolman, the Quaker.

² Oldmixon. *Kalm's Travels*. W. Smith. *Laws of New York from 1691 to 1751*. Grant's *Memoirs of an American Lady*. Holmes.

hitherto six hundred pounds, was now raised to one thousand pounds *per annum*, besides perquisites and occasional presents to defray extraordinary expenses. In the same year, a college was founded at Princeton, and named Nassau Hall. Among other funds by which the expense of this scholastic establishment was defrayed, a liberal contribution for the purpose was made by the general assembly of the church of Scotland. The mild treatment of slaves in this province, which we have already had occasion to notice,¹ may perhaps be inferred from a circumstance which occurred about this time, when the slaves, forming nearly a tenth part of the inhabitants, constituted a larger proportion of the total population of the province than at any other period of its history. It was then that there occurred the only instance, recorded in the annals of New Jersey, of a conspiracy (real or supposed) of the enslaved negroes against the white freemen. Notwithstanding the rage and fear which such an emergency is apt to provoke, only one of the supposed conspirators was hanged, — “probably,” says Oldmixon, “because they could not well spare any more.” It is happy for slaves, when their masters feel themselves unable to spare them even to the cravings of fear and vengeance.² The inhabitants of New Jersey were occasionally more alarmed than injured by slight shocks of earthquake, of which instances have been recorded in the years 1726, 1732, and 1737. Like their neighbours in Pennsylvania, and the people of Connecticut, they prudently restrained their paper currency within safe and narrow limits. They long continued a quiet, virtuous, and happy people.³

Pennsylvania and Delaware had, beyond doubt, increased more rapidly since the commencement of the century than any of the other colonies; but of their actual population at this period no credible account has been transmitted. While one author,⁴ with manifest inaccuracy, reports the number of in-

¹ Book VI., *ante*.

² Nearly coincident with the New Jersey negro plot was a conspiracy of the negro slaves of the British colony of Antigua, which was punished with a barbarity more characteristic of slave-owners. Three of the ringleaders were broken on the wheel; seventy-nine were burned alive; and nine were suspended in chains and starved to death. *Universal History*.

³ S. Smith. Oldmixon. Gillies' *Life of M^r Laurin*. Warden. Holmes.

⁴ Holmes.

habitants in 1732 to have been thirty thousand, — that is, about five thousand fewer than in the year 1708 ; another, the Quaker historian, Proud, has, with blind exultation, adopted from an anonymous pamphlet, published at London in 1731, an exaggerated statement, which, without particularizing the number of the people, represents it as greatly exceeding the population of Virginia, Maryland, and both the Carolinas.¹ Both reports are equally unworthy of credit. It was not till some years after the present period, that the population of Pennsylvania attained the utmost vigor of its principle of increase ; and probably, as yet, it was inferior to the population of Virginia. The colonists of Pennsylvania and Delaware, at this period, built annually about two thousand tons of shipping for sale, besides the vessels employed in their own trade, which were reckoned at six thousand tons. They traded with England, Portugal, and Spain ; with the Canaries, Madeira, and the Azores ; with the West India Islands ; with New England, Virginia, Maryland, and Carolina. In 1731, Philadelphia is said to have contained two thousand four hundred houses, and twelve thousand souls, — a computation probably somewhat below the truth. In 1736, the custom-house books contained entries of two hundred and eleven vessels arriving with cargoes at the port of Philadelphia, and of two hundred and fifteen departing with cargoes from it, — a share of commerce rather smaller than New York possessed in the same year. Yet the commerce of Pennsylvania seems to have been productive of more benefit than that of New York to the manufacturers of Britain, from which the Pennsylvanians are said to have imported goods to the annual value of one hundred and fifty thousand pounds. Similar to the observation of Smith respecting New York is the remark of Proud with regard to Pennsylvania, — that “ the lives of both animals and vegetables, as they mostly arrive sooner at maturity, are generally of shorter duration, than in some of the more northern or temperate climates.” He adds, that “ strangers who remove hither

¹ Proud is not ashamed to support the statement which he has adopted, by copying its author's erroneous exposition of the reasons of it, — namely, that Pennsylvania was the only colony where religious toleration was enjoyed, and where the Indians were not treated with injustice and inhumanity !

from colder or more northern latitudes are observed generally to bear the vicissitudes of the Pennsylvanian climate better, at first, than the natives of the country, or such as have lived long in it.”¹

Pennsylvania, if not the only province in which religious toleration prevailed, was at least the one in which the prevalence of this principle was attested by the greatest variety of religious sects and sentiments. In the year 1724, there was founded by some German emigrants in this province the sect which has been described by different writers under the differently sounding names of *Tunkers*, *Dunkers*, *Tumblers*, and *Dumplers*. The votaries of this persuasion adopted the dress of the monks and nuns of the Roman Catholic order of White Friars, and a system of doctrine derived partly from the Anabaptists and partly from the Quakers. In imitation of the Jews, they solemnized the sixth day of the week as a Sabbath, and commonly, but not universally, refrained from shaving their beards. They established within their sectarian society a community of goods, and a strict separation of the sexes; allowing, nevertheless, the lawfulness of marriage, but inflicting a friendly exile from the bosom of the society as the conditional consequence of it. They carried the doctrine of non-resistance, professed by the Quakers and some other sectaries, to the farthest practical extremity; utterly forbearing litigation, enduring insult and injury without resentment or complaint, and realizing the visions of the Stoics on the principles of Christianity. Their church government was administered by deacons and deaconesses, and in their religious assemblies the members of either sex were expected and permitted freely to exercise and display their spiritual gifts. With purposed or accidental imitation of the policy of Lycurgus regarding the laws of Sparta, they committed none of their peculiar dogmas or precepts to writing, from the apprehension of exposing themselves either to the danger of professing tenets after they might cease to believe them, or to the shame of abandoning what they or their fathers had publicly sanctioned and embraced. They speedily made numerous con-

¹ Proud. Anderson. Holmes.

verts among the other German emigrants, and established their principal settlement at a place which they named Ephrata,—whence various derivative communities were afterwards extended to other parts of Pennsylvania. At first, they practised numerous austerities, which were relaxed in process of time; but they were always distinguished by a diligent and yet unselfish industry, and a gentleness and simplicity of deportment, which gained for them in Pennsylvania the title of *the harmless Tunkers*.¹

In every one of the North American provinces, at this period, there were exhibited, on a larger or smaller scale, the grand and pleasing features of national happiness, liberty, piety, and virtue. But Pennsylvania, Connecticut, and New Jersey were distinguished above all the rest by the scenes of tranquillity and contentment they presented. Virginia and Maryland had, indeed, enjoyed a long exemption from foreign war and the actual infliction of domestic tyranny; but in both of these States a theoretical intolerance and consequent insecurity prevailed. In Virginia, a numerous body of Protestant Dissenters were nominally exposed to the penalties of an intolerant ecclesiastical constitution; and in Maryland, the great majority of the people enjoyed their estates and franchises only by a connivance which restrained the practical execution of the existing laws against the professors of the Catholic faith. In Virginia and Maryland, too, negro slavery prevailed far more extensively and was productive of much greater evils than in Pennsylvania, Connecticut, or New Jersey.

It was noted from an early period, as a peculiarity in the manners of the North American colonists, that their funerals were conducted with a degree of pomp and expense unknown

¹ Raynal. Winterbotham. Holmes. "When we were first drawn together as a society," said Michael Weffare, one of the founders of the sect of Tunkers, to Dr. Franklin, "it had pleased God to enlighten our minds so far as to see that some doctrines which were esteemed truths were errors, and that others which we had esteemed errors were real truths. From time to time, he has been pleased to afford us farther light, and our principles have been improving and our errors diminishing: now we are not sure that we have arrived at the end of this progression, and at the perfection of spiritual or theological knowledge; and we fear, that, if we should once print our confession of faith, we should feel ourselves as if bound and confined by it, and perhaps be unwilling to receive farther improvement; and our successors still more so, as conceiving what their elders and founders had done to be something sacred and never to be departed from." Franklin's *Memoirs*.

to the contemporary practice of Europe. The costliness of funerals in New England, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, in particular, has been remarked by various writers. The legislature of Massachusetts, in the year 1724, enacted a law for restraining this vain and unseasonable prodigality; and especially prohibiting, under a penalty of twenty pounds, the common practice of presenting a scarf to every guest who attended a funeral. Philosophic men, in others of the provinces, labored with more zeal than success to recommend a similar reformation to their fellow-citizens.¹ In none of the colonies was greater expense incurred or magnificence displayed at funerals than in South Carolina, where the interment of the dead was generally combined with a sumptuous banquet and a profusion of good cheer for the living.²

British oppression and intolerance, which had founded most of the North American colonies, still continued to augment the numbers and influence the sentiments of their inhabitants. During the eighteenth century, the emigration from Ireland, where the bulk of the people were exposed to great injustice and contumely, was much more copious than from any other part of the British empire. The contest that prevailed between the Whigs and Tories in the parent state extended its influence beyond the Atlantic Ocean. A periodical work, published about this time in England, under the title of *The Independent Whig*, contained abundance of satire against the High Church, or Tory party, and the ministers of the established ecclesiastical constitution of England. It was widely

¹ Raynal. Hawksley's *Memoirs of President Edwards*. Holmes. "It is a general observation," says Raynal, "that plain and virtuous nations, even savage and poor ones, are remarkably attached to the care of their burials. The Pennsylvanians, who are the greatest enemies to parade during their lives, seem to forget this character of modesty at their deaths. They all are desirous that the poor remains of their short lives should be attended with a funeral pomp suited to their rank and fortune. Every family who hears of the death sends at least one person to attend the funeral; all that come are treated with punch and cake; and there is generally a train of four or five hundred persons on horseback, who follow the body to the grave in profound silence." Like the American colonists, the ancient grandees of Scotland were so much infected with the rage for funeral ceremonial, that a sumptuary law was passed by the Scottish parliament for the purpose of restraining it.

² "In short, the Scripture observation, *It is better to go to the house of mourning than to the house of feasting*, is unintelligible and wholly inapplicable in South Carolina, as it is difficult to distinguish the one from the other." Win-terbotham.

circulated in America, and contributed not a little to promote a spirit of independence and republicanism among the colonists.¹

¹ Lambert's *Travels in Canada and the United States*.

BOOK IX.

PLANTATION AND PROGRESS

OF

GEORGIA,

TILL THE YEAR 1752.

BOOK IX.

GEORGIA.

Unpeopled and defenceless State of the southern Frontier of Carolina.— Situation of imprisoned Debtors in England— Colonization of Georgia suggested for their Relief— by Oglethorpe.— The Moravian Brethren— agree to send a Detachment of their Society to Georgia.— Royal Charter of Georgia.— First Resort of Emigrants to the Province.— Oglethorpe's Treaty with the Indians.— Legislative Constitutions enacted by the Trustees of Georgia.— Negro Slavery prohibited.— John and Charles Wesley— accompany Moravian Emigrants to the Province.— Emigration of Scotch Highlanders.— Discontents in the Colony.— The Scotch Colonists remonstrate against Negro Slavery.— Negro Insurrection in South Carolina.— Spanish War.— The Moravians forsake Georgia.— Oglethorpe's Invasion of Florida.— The Spaniards invade Georgia— and are foiled by Oglethorpe— who returns to England.— Change in the civil and political Constitution of Georgia.— Flourishing State of South Carolina.— Surrender of the Charter of Georgia to the Crown— and Introduction of Negro Slavery.— Condition of Georgia— Trade, Manners, &c.

GEORGIA owed its colonization partly to national rivalry and ambition, and partly to individual patriotism and philanthropy. The province of South Carolina, since the year 1719, when it revolted from the proprietary government to the crown, engrossed in a peculiar degree the care and attention of the parent state. We have remarked the legislative indulgence by which its sphere of commerce was extended ; the royal bounty by which its inhabitants were furnished with military stores, and gratified by the remission of arrears of quitrents ; and the liberal rewards by which foreigners were encouraged to recruit its population. But a great part of the chartered domains of the province still remained unoccupied ; and, in particular, the extensive region lying between the rivers Alatamaha and Savannah, forming the southern frontier, adja-

cent to Florida, and which had been the scene of so many Indian wars, was entirely vacant of white inhabitants. In one quarter of it, called Yamacraw, there dwelt a small tribe of Indians who were transported thither by Governor Moore in the year 1703,¹ and were regarded as owners of the soil, though they acknowledged a precarious dependence on the English provincial government. It was manifestly requisite, both for the interest of Great Britain and the security of Carolina, that a plantation should be established in this territory, before the Spaniards, in the indulgence of their boundless pretensions, should attempt a practical annexation of it to Florida, or the French should include it in the progressive occupations by which they were advancing the settlements they had formed on the Mississippi. There was the more reason to apprehend such an enterprise from the French, because they possessed no settlement on the eastern shores of North America, from which they might communicate with their sugar islands more conveniently than from the Mississippi plantations; in consequence of which, those islands were still obliged to depend for supplies of food and other provisions on the British continental colonies. But it was easier for British politicians to conceive than to execute the project of colonizing the country between the Alatomaha and the Savannah. There were other unoccupied parts of Carolina, which emigrants naturally accounted more eligible resorts than this dangerous frontier, surrounded by Indian tribes, and exposed to the brunt of Spanish and French hostility; and little likelihood appeared of seasonably planting a stable population within its limits, except by some extraordinary effort, and the operation of motives as powerful and elevated as those by which the most distinguished of the social establishments already existing in North America had been engendered. At this critical period, a number of Englishmen, some prompted by patriotism, some by Christian zeal, and some by warm benevolence and philanthropy, projected the formation of a new and distinct colonial community in the vacant region. The various purposes by which their combined exertions were centred in this measure were, to secure the

¹ Book IV., Chap. II., *ante*.

British dominion over a large and important territory ; to strengthen the province of Carolina ; to rescue a numerous class of persons in Great Britain and Ireland from the misery of hopeless indigence ; to open an asylum for Protestants oppressed or persecuted in any part of Europe ; and to attempt the conversion and civilization of the Indians. These were noble views, and worthy to be the source of an American commonwealth.

No modern nation has ever inflicted or sanctioned greater legal severities upon insolvent debtors than England. That jealous regard for liberty and national honor, and that generous and extended concern for the rights of human nature, which the English have always claimed as distinguishing features of their character, proved unable to withstand the most sordid and inhuman suggestions of commercial ambition. For the enlargement of their commerce, they permitted the atrocities of the slave-trade ; and for the encouragement of that ready credit by which commercial enterprise is promoted, they armed the creditors of insolvent debtors with vindictive powers, by the exercise of which freeborn Englishmen, unconvicted of crime, were frequently subjected, in the metropolis of Britain, to a thralldom as vile and afflicting as the bondage of negro slaves in the West Indies. So long was it before English sense and humanity were fully awakened to the guilt and mischief of this barbarous legal system, and its still more barbarous administration, that, till a late period of the eighteenth century, misfortunes in trade exposed an Englishman to a punishment more dreadful than the public feeling of England in the nineteenth century would suffer to be inflicted on the most odious and atrocious criminal. The writings of the illustrious Howard, in describing the interior economy of the old prisons of England, — and the English state trials, in recording the prosecutions of some London jailers for enormous excesses of cruelty to their prisoners, — have preserved pictures¹ of squalid horror and ignominious wretchedness, of which we may indulge the hope that the originals will never again reap-

¹ An actual pictorial representation of the torture which inhuman jailers sometimes inflicted on their prisoners in London has been preserved by the pencil of Hogarth.

pear in a civilized or Christian community. A dissolute abandonment of manners, no less than a merciless rigor of bondage, prevailed in the English prisons, which are said to have accumulated within their walls every loathsome and horrid disease, and every shameless and profligate enormity, that misery and vice could generate between them. This dreadful engine of oppression exercised a malignant reaction on the society by which its employment was authorized ; and debtors, emancipated by mercy or good fortune, too often diffused the contagion of their jail-bred vices and maladies,¹ and became the burden and reproach of their country. The reverses of fortune consequent on the mercantile gambling which prevailed in England in the year 1720 crowded the jails of this kingdom with prisoners, to many of whom the bitterness of their actual condition was aggravated by a dire, abrupt, and affecting vicissitude, — by blighted hope, ruined pride, and a total ignorance and incapacity of the expedients by which persons more familiar with indigence contrive to alleviate its severity.

The multiplication of prisoners necessarily produced an increase of the horrors of imprisonment, which at last succeeded in awakening a sentiment of indignant compassion in the public mind. A rich and humane citizen of London having bequeathed his fortune to the government, for the purpose of liberating insolvent debtors from prison, some members of parliament undertook to visit the jails of London, in order to ascertain and select the properest objects of the testator's bounty. In the course of their inquiries, they detected numerous abuses of prison discipline ; but what struck them most forcibly was the corrupting influence of imprisonment on its wretched victims, and the perplexing difficulty of altering the evil bias which prison habits had impressed on these miserable men. The notion was conceived, that an object so desirable might be

¹ A malignant and contagious malady, called the jail fever, used to make frightful havoc among the imprisoned debtors and felons in England. In the year 1750, it raged with extreme virulence in the prison of Newgate in London ; and was communicated in a remarkable manner by the victims to the dispensers of legal severity. At an Old Bailey session in that year, some of the prisoners who were tried being affected with the distemper, two of the judges, together with the lord mayor, one of the aldermen of London, several lawyers, and many of the jurymen and spectators, were smitten with the contagion, and lost their lives. Smollett. A similar disaster occurred during the same century at an assize at Oxford.

accomplished by some great change of scene,—by transporting these persons to North America for the purpose of founding a new colony in that region.¹ This proposition, which savors more of eager benevolence than of solid wisdom, is generally supposed to have originated with the most distinguished of the individuals by whom the survey of the metropolitan prisons was performed. James Edward Oglethorpe, son of Sir Theophilus Oglethorpe, was born at London, and completed his education at the University of Oxford. He served with distinction under Prince Eugene in Germany, and at an early age was advanced to the rank of colonel in the British army. Gaining a seat in parliament, he distinguished himself by an ardent patriotism, an expansive benevolence, and a thirst for the glory of conducting or promoting great and generous designs. In the year 1728, he engaged the House of Commons to appoint a committee of inquiry into the state of the jails of Great Britain; and, as chairman of this committee, he presented, in the following year, a report, which induced the House to attempt the redress of some of the most flagrant of the existing abuses. He easily prevailed with the associates of his labors to embrace the project of transporting to America the unfortunate objects of their benevolence; and proposing to the government to found a new colony in the frontier territory intervening between Carolina and Florida, obtained a ready patronage of this design from the British monarch and his ministers. It was resolved that the territory selected for colonial occupation should be created a separate province, and receive the denomination of *Georgia*, in honor of the king.

Oglethorpe's interest, thus powerfully reinforced, procured from the House of Commons a grant of ten thousand pounds, to be added to the private estate that was bequeathed for the liberation of debtors; and from the ministerial cabinet a pledge (of more than dubious honesty) to appropriate to the use of the new colony the funds that had been devoted to the

¹ "And here can I forget the generous band,
Who, touched with human woe, redressive searched
Into the horrors of the gloomy jail?"—Thomson.

The poet, after a lively picture of the misery which had been brought to light, seems to allude to the scheme of expatriation in this warning line:—

"O great design! if executed well."

college projected by Bishop Berkeley.¹ This injustice was palliated and disguised by the purpose of uniting with the colonial project the pursuit of Berkeley's pious views for the conversion of the Indians,—a purpose which Oglethorpe willingly embraced,² and which was forcibly recommended by the obvious expediency of leavening, by a copious infusion of religious zeal and virtuous example, a society to be composed of persons liberated from prison, and of uniting as far as possible, by community of sentiment, the European settlers and the aboriginal inhabitants of the region. It was publicly announced that the right of citizenship in the new province, together with the benefit of all the patronage and assistance by which the first efforts of the colonists were to be aided, would be extended to all Protestant emigrants from any nation of Europe, desirous of a refuge from persecution, or willing to undertake the religious instruction of the Indians. The invitation thus presented not only multiplied the friends of the colonial project in England, but occasioned an overture to its patrons from the most remarkable Christian society that has arisen on the continent of Europe since the era of the Protestant Reformation.³

This society, which has since extended its branches to so many nations, and supplied at once the most industrious citizens to civilized communities, and the most diligent and successful missionaries to heathen and savage hordes, has been described by different writers under the various denominations of *Moravians*, from the district of Moravia, in Germany, which they once inhabited,—of *Herrnhutters*, from Herrnhuth, in Saxony, where, in 1722, they found a refuge from persecution within the domains of the celebrated Count Zinzendorf, who became

¹ *Ante*, Book VIII., Chap. II., *ad fin.*

² Bishop Wilson, in the Preface to his *Essay towards an Instruction for the Indians*, which was first printed in 1740, states that Oglethorpe's solicitations had induced him to compose it. Oglethorpe's ardent mind prompted some literary effusions from his own pen, with respect to his colonial project. He was the author of a most ingenious and interesting, though somewhat fancifully colored, *Account of South Carolina and Georgia*, published at London in 1733, and reprinted in the *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society*. A little poem which he wrote, on the same subject, is alluded to in the unpublished journal of Charles Wesley.

³ This society appears to be derived, by authentic deduction, from the primitive apostolic church, through successive generations of men who never acknowledged the supremacy nor partook the corruptions of the church of Rome. Bost's *History of the Moravian Church*.

their bishop, — and of *The United Brethren of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, which is the title recognized by themselves. They adhered to the Augsburg confession of faith, composed by the German Reformers in the year 1530, and they professed a strictly literal obedience to the primitive ordinances of Christianity. Finding no warrant in Scripture for the common practice of transferring to the first day of the week the Sabbatical honors divinely appropriated to the seventh, they dedicated Saturday to contemplative quiet, and entire cessation from bodily labor ; and yet assembled on Sunday to commemorate the death and resurrection of Christ. Like the Quakers, they renounced all war and violence ; like the *Tunkers*, they established a community of goods ; they taught industry as a branch of religion, — regarding its offices and its fruits, alike, as occasions or instruments of fulfilling the will of God ; and they retained the primitive practices of washing feet, saluting with the kiss of holy love, and solving doubts by appeal to Heaven through the intervention of lots. This last practice was employed, in particular, as a test of the propriety of contracting intended marriages. The men and women, before marriage, lived separately from each other, in assemblies where the most perfect equality prevailed ; and in each of these assemblies, one of the members, in rotation, was appointed to pass the night in watching and prayer. Silent assiduity in business, gentleness of manner, plainness of apparel, and the utmost personal and domestic neatness were universally cultivated by the members of this society. It was a fundamental principle of their faith, that the true dignity and highest worth of a human being consist, not in requiring and receiving service from his fellows, but in rendering it to them. The Moravians have been termed *the monks of Protestantism* ;¹ for, though they rejected vows, their society was entirely ecclesiastical, every thing being accomplished by religious influence, and all affairs subjected to the superintendence and direction of the elders of the church. In the year 1727, this society proclaimed the

¹ This title, which was bestowed on the Moravians by Madame de Staël, might have been applied more justly to the Tunkers ; and still more so to those later sectaries of German origin (the followers of Rapp), who founded the settlement of Harmony, in America, — and, prohibiting both individual property and marriage, endeavoured to abolish at once inequality of condition and the continuance of human nature.

purpose of undertaking missionary labor on a very extensive scale ; and in the year in which the charter of Georgia was granted [1732], Count Zinzendorf, having opened a correspondence with Oglethorpe and his associates, announced the intention of a party of the Moravian brethren to unite themselves with the other colonists of this American territory.

Animated by benevolent hope and general approbation, the promoters of the colonial project had now so far matured their design, that they applied for a royal charter, which was straightway granted to them by King George the Second. By this charter the territory between the Altamaha and the Savannah Rivers was erected into a separate and independent province, under the name of Georgia, and vested in twenty-one noblemen and gentlemen, of whom the most distinguished were Anthony, Earl of Shaftesbury (the author of *The Characteristics*), John, Lord Percival, John, Lord Tyrconnel, James, Lord Limerick, George, Lord Carpenter, James Edward Oglethorpe, and Stephen Hales, an English clergyman, and one of the most eminent naturalists of the age. A corporation, consisting of the twenty-one persons named in the charter, was constituted, by the title of *Trustees for settling and establishing the Colony of Georgia*, and vested with the powers of legislation for twenty-one years ; at the expiration of which time, a permanent form of government, corresponding with British law and usage, was to be established by the king or his successors. The trustees, being empowered to collect benefactions for defraying the expense of providing suitable equipment to the colonists, and maintaining them till their houses should be built and their lands cleared, themselves set an example to the public liberality by the most generous contributions, and by a gratuitous dedication of their labor and time to the discharge of the important trust which they had solicited. Oglethorpe, moreover, undertook to accompany the emigrants,¹ to assist in forming and rearing the settlement, and gratuitously to execute the functions of provincial governor. This example of public spirit and philanthropy was propagated throughout the whole kingdom, and elicited numerous donations from all ranks and classes of people. The

¹ " Or, urged by strong benevolence of soul,
Shall fly, like Oglethorpe, from pole to pole." — Pope.

directors of the Bank of England volunteered a liberal contribution ; and the House of Commons successively voted sums of money, which, in the course of two years, amounted to thirty-six thousand pounds. At the first general meeting of the trustees [July, 1732], Lord Percival was chosen president of the corporation, and a common seal for the authentication of its acts was appointed. The device of this corporate seal was, on one side, two figures resting upon urns, representing the rivers Alatamaha and Savannah, the boundaries of the province ; between them, the genius of the colony seated, with a cap of liberty on his head, a spear in one hand, and a horn of plenty in the other, with the inscription, *Colonia Georgia Aug.* : on the other side was a representation of silkworms, some beginning and others completing their labors, which were characterized by the motto, *Non sibi, sed aliis*. If this latter emblem were intended to proclaim the disinterested benevolence of the trustees, it contained also an allusion to the cultivation of silk, to which they had destined the territory, and from which the people of England were encouraged to form a strong expectation of national advantage, by the assurances of Sir Gilbert Heathcote and other commercial politicians, who hesitated not to predict that the large sum of five hundred thousand pounds, which was annually remitted from England to Piedmont for the purchase of the raw silk of Italy, would speedily be made to flow into the bosom of a society composed of British subjects, who would encourage the manufactures of Britain by accepting them as an equivalent for the silk produce of Georgia.¹ A few Piedmontese silk-workers, who brought with them a quantity of silkworms' eggs hatched in Italy, were engaged, by the liberal offers of the trustees, to accompany the first detachment of emigrants, which, consisting of one hundred and sixteen persons, under the command of Colonel Oglethorpe [Nov. 6, 1732], sailed from Gravesend to found the last colony which England was to acquire, save by the sword, in North America. Unfortunately for this infant settlement, the Moravian emigrants who had proposed to unite themselves to it were not

¹ "The government also had in view to raise wine, oil, and silk ; and to turn the industry of these new colonists from the timber and provision trade, which the other colonies had gone into too largely, to channels more advantageous for the public." Wynne.

ready to embark at the time, when the trustees, unwilling to defer the public hope, or prolong the idle stay of their colonists in England, judged it necessary that a commencement of the enterprise should be made. On their arrival, some time after, in Holland, whither they repaired for the purpose of transporting themselves to America, the congregation of Moravians that was designed for Georgia altered their purpose, and directed their course to Pennsylvania.¹

Oglethorpe, and the first crew of emigrants to Georgia, having arrived in safety at the metropolis of South Carolina, were received by the municipal officers of this province, and the inhabitants of Charleston, with extraordinary marks of kindness and satisfaction. [January 15, 1733.] The assembly of South Carolina, sensible of the advantage of the projected settlement, readily complied with the recommendation of Governor Johnson, in voting that a large supply of cattle and other provisions should be furnished, at the public expense, to Oglethorpe and his followers; who, resuming their expedition, and attended by rangers and scout-boats, supplied by the Carolinians, proceeded to occupy a convenient station in the neighbourhood of Yamacraw [February 1, 1733], on which, from the name of the adjacent river, they bestowed the appellation of Savannah. Here a fort was erected, and a few guns mounted on it, for the defence of the infant colony. The people were set to work in felling trees and building huts, and were encouraged in their labors by the animating example of Oglethorpe, who cheerfully incurred a share of every hardship. Previous to their departure from England, the colonists had received some military training from the sergeants of the guards in London. They were now formed into a company of militia, which Oglethorpe exercised with a frequency calculated to cherish habits of subordination among them, to preserve their martial acquirements, and to make a politic demonstration of military capacity to the Indians. The Carolinians continued to aid the progress of the colony, by sending frequent supplies of provisions for the support of the settlers, and a number of skilful workmen to direct and partake their labors.

¹ Oldmixon. Loskiel's *History of the Missions of the United Brethren in North America*. Anderson. *Universal History*. Wynne. Hewit. Raynal. Winterbotham. Watkins's *Historical Dictionary*.

Having thus completed the first necessary arrangements for the safety of his people, the next object of Oglethorpe's attention was to establish a friendly relation with the Indians, and to gain their sanction and favor to the colonial establishment. The territory in which he and his people were planted was chiefly claimed and partly occupied by the tribes of the Upper and Lower Creeks, whose formidable power, no less than their distinct pretensions, rendered it desirable that the projected treaty should include them, as well as the comparatively feeble tribe that was settled at Yamacraw. By the assistance of an Indian woman married to a Carolinian trader, and who could speak both the English and the Creek languages, Oglethorpe invited all the chiefs of the Creeks to hold a conference with him at Savannah, where he designed to solicit their consent to the establishment of his colony. His invitation was accepted, and the conference that ensued was attended by fifty Indian chiefs or kings. To this assembly of the savage aristocracy of America Oglethorpe represented the great power, wisdom, and wealth of the English nation, and the many advantages that the Indians might expect to derive from a connection of friendship with that people ; and he expressed his hope, that, as the Indians had a plentiful superfluity of land, they would freely resign a share of it to his followers, who had come to settle among them for their benefit and instruction. He concluded his address by distributing presents among his auditors ; a ceremonial not only accordant with the request he had made, but indispensably requisite to the formality of an Indian treaty. Then Tomochichi, the aged chief of the tribe that dwelt at Yamacraw, replied in the name of all the Creek warriors to the speech of Oglethorpe, whose request was granted with unanimous approbation. " Here is a little present," said the Indian ; and therewith he presented to Oglethorpe a buffalo's skin, on the inside of which were delineated the head and feathers of an eagle ; remarking that the eagle signified speed, and the buffalo strength. " The English," he continued, " are as swift as the bird, and as strong as the beast ; since, like the first, they fly from the uttermost parts of the earth, over the vast seas ; and, like the second, they are so strong that nothing can withstand them." He said, the feathers of the eagle were soft, and

figured love ; the buffalo's skin was warm, and denoted protection ; and the English, he hoped, would exemplify those attributes, in loving and protecting the families of the Indians. He acknowledged that the *Great Power which dwelt in heaven and all around* had endowed the English with wisdom and riches, insomuch that they wanted nothing ; while the same Power had lavished great territories on the Indians, who yet were in want of every thing : and he declared that the Creeks were willing freely to resign to the English the lands that were useless to themselves, and to permit the English to settle among them, to the end that they might be instructed in useful knowledge, and supplied with improved accommodations of life. A friendly treaty was contracted between the two races of people ; rules of mutual commerce, and for the adjustment of mutual disputes in conformity with the laws of England, were established ; all lands unoccupied by the Indians were assigned to the English, under the condition that the Indian chiefs should be previously apprized of the intended formation of every new township ; and the Indians promised, *with straight hearts and love to their English brethren*, that they would permit no other race of white men to settle in the country. Oglethorpe, having concluded this treaty, resumed his active superintendence of the labors and progress of the colonists, who were soon after joined by two successive reinforcements of emigrants, of whom the greater number were equipped and despatched by the trustees, though upwards of a hundred defrayed the expenses of their own transportation. He made repeated journeys to Charleston in quest of assistance and advice ; and resolving, for the advantage of his people, to undertake a voyage to England, he put the colony in the best posture of defence that its circumstances admitted, and intrusted the administration of its government during his absence to two individuals named Scott and St. Julian.¹

Oglethorpe was accompanied to England by Tomochichi and his queen, and several other Indians of distinction, who were entertained in London with magnificent hospitality, loaded with presents and attentions from all classes of people, and introduced to the royal court, which was then held at Kensing-

¹ Oldmixon. Hewit.

ton. Tomochichi, on this occasion, presenting several eagle's feathers, addressed the British monarch in the following speech: — "This day I see the majesty of your face, and the greatness of your house, and the number of your people. I am come over in my old days for the good of the whole nation called the Creeks, to renew the peace they made long ago with the English. Though I cannot live to see any advantage to myself, I am come for the good of the children of all the nations of the Upper and Lower Creeks, that they may be instructed in the knowledge of the English. These are the feathers of the eagle, which is the swiftest of birds, and flieth all round our nations. These feathers are a sign of peace in our land, and have been carried from town to town there. We have brought them over, to leave them with you, O great King, as a token of everlasting peace. O great King, whatever words you shall say unto me, I will faithfully tell them to all the kings of the Creek nations." To this address the king returned a gracious answer, assuring the Creeks of his regard and protection. After a stay of four months, a vessel being ready to sail with an additional crew of emigrants for Georgia, the Indians also embarked in it, declaring themselves highly gratified with the generosity of the British nation, and promising eternal fidelity to its interest.¹ A treaty of peace and commerce was contracted, meanwhile, by the Georgian colonists with another Indian tribe called the Choctaws, to whom Oglethorpe, before his departure, had commissioned one Jones to repair for this purpose.²

The incorporated trustees, having thus established a colony in Georgia, now proceeded to exercise their legislative powers by enacting a code of fundamental laws and constitutions for the infant society. By this code it was provided that each tract of land granted by the trustees should be accepted as a military fief, for which the possessor was bound to appear in

¹ Tomochichi pondered attentively and made pertinent remarks on all he saw and heard in England. He displayed much good sense and sagacity in his intercourse with the Georgian trustees, especially in suggesting precautionary regulations for preventing the commercial intercourse between the colonists and the Indians from producing quarrels. Wynne. He was struck with the solidity of the English houses, and expressed surprise that short-lived men should build such long-lived habitations. John Wesley's *Journal*.

² Oldmixon. Wynne. Hewit.

arms and take the field, when summoned for the public defence ; that, to prevent accumulation of property, which was deemed inconsistent with a military spirit, the tract of land assigned to each planter should not exceed twenty-five acres, and no one should be suffered to possess more than five hundred acres ; that, to hinder a plurality of allotments from falling in process of time into the possession of any single individual, the lands should be granted in tail male, instead of tail general, — that is, that women should be rendered incapable of succeeding to landed property ; that, in default of heirs male to any proprietor, his estate was to revert as a lapsed fief to the trustees, in order to be again granted to another colonist on the same terms as before, — some compensation, however, being recommended in that case to the daughters (especially if not provided for by marriage) of such deceased proprietors as should have improved their lands ; that widows should be entitled, during their lives, to the mansion-house and one half of the land improved by their husbands ; and that, if any portion of land granted should not be cleared, fenced, and cultivated within eighteen years from the date of the relative grant, such portion was to relapse, as a forfeiture, to the trustees. No inhabitant was to be permitted to depart from the province without a license ; which was declared requisite also to legitimate trade with the Indians. The importation of rum was disallowed ; trade with the West Indies was declared unlawful ; and *negro slavery was absolutely prohibited*. Except in the last article, and the purposed regulation of Indian trade, this code exhibits hardly a trace either of common sense, or of that liberality which the trustees had already so signally displayed.

The imagination of man could scarcely have framed a system of rules worse adapted to the circumstances of the colonists, more pernicious to the prosperity of an infant province, or more hostile to that contentment which the trustees desired to produce, and that harvest of lasting praise and honor which they might have reaped, if their wisdom had been proportioned to their benevolence. They seem to have consulted rather the defence of Carolina than the interest of Georgia, in granting their lands as military fiefs in tail male ; — a provision calculated to limit the power of parents to provide for their off-

spring, and to afflict and discourage every planter who might chance to have only female children ; and which, in effect, induced numerous valuable colonists to depart from Georgia to other provinces, where they knew that they could obtain abundance of land in less stinted allotments and upon more eligible terms. By disallowing trade with the West Indies, they deprived the colonists of an ample and convenient market for the lumber of which their lands afforded a plentiful supply. The object of this restraint seems to have been to add efficacy to the prohibition of the importation of rum, which was itself a vain mandate, especially while the colonists were exposed to severe toil in a foggy and sultry climate, and was unlikely to produce any other results than smuggling and discontent. But the trustees were greatly, and it must be allowed not unreasonably, apprehensive both of the additional depravation of manners which many of their colonists might incur, and of the fatal quarrels that might arise with the Indians from the introduction of ardent spirits into the settlements. The Carolinians were struck with disgust and astonishment, when they heard of these impolitic and oppressive restrictions ; and plainly perceiving that the enforcement of them would oppose an insurmountable barrier to the progress of the new colony, began to invite the Georgian settlers to cross the Savannah River, and take refuge within the confines of Carolina. None of the regulations of the code excited greater discontent among the Georgian colonists than the wise and humane prohibition of negro slavery, — a regulation which was probably suggested by Oglethorpe's acquaintance with the state of society in South Carolina, and of which the professed object was to prevent a frontier province, intended to serve as a barrier or rampart to the other southern colonies, from being weakened by the introduction into its bosom of a race of domestic enemies.¹

¹ It is remarkable that the two worst political constitutions enacted by the founders of North American States — the code composed by Locke, and the code composed by the Georgian trustees — differed from all the rest in expressly adverting to negro slavery, and so far differed from each other, that, while the one solemnly sanctioned, the other as solemnly disallowed, this injustice. In addition to the reasons assigned in the text for the prohibition of negro slavery in Georgia, Judge Law suggests, that, "because a large portion of the settlers were poor and unable to procure slaves, it was thought that the influence of the example of slavery would be unfavorable upon the industry of that portion of the whites who were thus constrained to personal labor." *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society.*

The colonists, envying the privilege enjoyed by their neighbours in Carolina, of delegating rough toil to slaves, complained that the strength of European constitutions, unaided by negro labor, could make no impression on the vast and stubborn forests by which they were surrounded. Europeans had now become so habituated to regard negroes as slaves, and to despise them as a servile and degraded race, that it never occurred, either to the trustees or the colonists, that, by an equitable intercourse and association between white men and negroes, the advantage of negro labor might be obtained, without the concomitant injustice of negro slavery. The trustees likewise acted with great inconsistency in the policy which they blended with their humane prohibition of slavery. While they alleged, in vindication of this prohibition, that the cultivation of silk, to which the province was specially destined, was more suitable to Europeans than to negroes, they held forth to the colonists encouragements to a culture that presented the strongest temptations to the employment of negro labor. We have already noticed¹ the act of parliament that was passed a few years before this period for encouraging the trade of Carolina by permitting the merchants and planters of this province to export rice directly to any part of Europe southward of Cape Finisterre. This statute (which might reasonably be supposed to have been suggested by the British merchants engaged in the slave-trade) occasioned a great additional importation of negroes into South Carolina ; and yet the trustees of Georgia prevailed with the British government to obtain from the parliament an extension to the new province of the statutory privilege which produced that effect.² [1735.]

But the efficacy of the design for preventing the introduction of negro slavery, and indeed of every design that required patient and vigorous virtue from the inhabitants of Georgia, was more seriously obstructed by the character and habits of the persons of whom the first emigrations to this province chiefly consisted. The trustees, as we have seen, had not been negligent of efforts to counteract the evil qualities which these men naturally derived from their peculiar misfortunes, by

¹ Book VIII., Chap. II., *ante*.

² Wynne. Hewit. Stat. 8 George II., Cap. 19.

the infusion of better character and example among them. Disappointed in their first hope of an emigration of Moravian brethren, they renewed their correspondence with Count Zinzendorf, and strongly pressed him to accept of a large tract of land in Georgia, to be cultivated by a Moravian society. A party of the count's associates readily complied with his recommendation that they should embrace this offer, and received from him a valedictory charge, which enjoined them to submit themselves, in every variety of situation, to the all-wise direction and ever ready guidance of God ; to cherish and preserve liberty of conscience ; to avoid religious disputes ; to keep continually in view the divine command to preach the gospel to the heathen ; and to endeavour, as far as possible, to earn their own subsistence. A few of them embarked with other emigrants in the vessel which reconveyed Tomochichi and his Indian companions to Georgia ;¹ and a larger number had since arrived in England, and were prepared to accompany the next embarkation, with which Oglethorpe also was to return to the province. They all intimated to the trustees their determination not to engage in war, and consented to embark on the faith of a positive promise of being exempted from military service.

Nor were these the only persons distinguished for Christian sentiment and practice, by whose accompaniment the next projected voyage from England to Georgia was to be signalized. John Wesley, the founder of Methodism, had now commenced in England that long and memorable career which has contributed so notably to the revival and diffusion of piety and virtue throughout Protestant Christendom, and has gained him a name as lasting as the reign of religion and civility in the world. This remarkable person was distinguished in an eminent degree by the strength of his understanding, the ardor of his devotion, the warmth of his benevolence, the cheerful serenity of his manners, and the nicely exact and yet perfectly unaffected sanctity of his life. Education had enriched him with a large variety of knowledge and accomplishments, and aided taste and nature in developing in him an eloquence at

¹ Oldmixon. Loskiel. Wynne.

once graceful, perspicuous, impressive, and interesting. To the most earnest and indefatigable zeal, as a minister of the gospel and champion of his own ecclesiastical opinions, he united a disposition singularly charitable, tender, and forgiving ; and with a wonderful clearness and subtlety of apprehension, he possessed the most stainless sincerity, an admirable candor, and a quaint yet genuine simplicity. The defects of his character were, in youth, a zeal, generously benevolent, indeed, but unguarded and unforbearing, and throughout life a strong credulity in behalf of professed piety and avouched miraculous occurrences ;—the one, a natural consequence of youthful ardor, — the other, an enthusiastic effusion of that charity which in him never failed, but to the last kept more than even pace with the enlarging horizon of his knowledge. It was a remark of that great British statesman, Lord Chatham, that the ritual of the church of England is Catholic, its articles of faith Calvinistic, and its ministers in general Arminian. Even those who may dispute the accuracy of the statesman's observation will hardly refuse to acknowledge the disagreements between original theory and existing practice, which the history of this church has occasionally presented, in common with every long-established human institution.

The perception of such discrepancies between the theory and the practical state of their own church has repeatedly prompted devout Catholics to found those strict religious orders, which, dissenting from the practice, but retaining the general doctrine, of the church of Rome, are acknowledged as kindred branches of its ecclesiastical establishment. But the church of England is a total stranger to this policy ; and at no period¹ have its rulers ever been willing to permit those ministers to remain within its pale, who, thoroughly and cordially acquiescing in its canons of doctrine, have innovated or dissented from any part of its existing ritual system. Hence it was that the exertions by which John Wesley originally purposed to renovate the strength and authority of the church of

¹ Except, perhaps, in the commencement of Queen Elizabeth's reign, when the English bishops were prevented by this princess from carrying into effect the compromise they had arranged with the Puritan clergy. See Book II., Chap. I., *ante*.

England, by reviving among a class of its votaries the strictness of its primitive ordinances, and the profession of doctrines contained in its canons, but unacceptable to the generality of its ministers, eventually led to the sectarian establishment of Methodism, — the most extensive and important schism that occurred in England since the expulsion of the Puritans from the national church. Unlike the prior schism, however, the progress of Methodism proved eventually beneficial to the established church, and inspired in its ministers a great increase of zeal and diligence, by the influence of example, the spirit of rivalry, and the interest of self-preservation.¹ But at the present period, Wesley was known to the world only as a young clergyman of the church of England, distinguished by the purity of his life and the ardor of his zeal; willing, and even desirous, to endure hardship for the promotion of religion; and who had formed at Oxford a society of young men, who embraced his views, adopted his orderly habits and rigid temperance, visited the prisons along with him, and were derisively styled by the wits and mockers of the University, *the Godly Club*, or *Methodists*. Next to John Wesley, the most remarkable members of this small society were his brother Charles, a man of fine talents, an elegant scholar and poet, pious, friendly, kind, liberal, and unassuming, — and George Whitefield, a man of devout and enthusiastic spirit, and one of the greatest orators, or (according to the judgment of David Hume) by far the greatest, that the world has ever produced.

The trustees of Georgia, acquainted with the reputation of this society, conceived the hope of inducing some of its members to join their American colony. By the intervention of Dr. Burton, a learned and pious divine, who warmly supported the colonial project, Oglethorpe was introduced to the two Wesleys, and so much charmed with their characters and manners, that he joined with Burton in using the most pressing instances to incline them to comply with the wishes of the trustees and accept ecclesiastical appointments in Georgia.

¹ It has been the fashion in England to represent the Dissenters as greatly indebted to the learning and labors of the clergy of the established church. Every impartial student of ecclesiastical history must be aware that the very reverse of this representation is the truth.

The Wesleys consented, — chiefly induced by the hope of evangelizing the Indians, — and prevailed with a few of their associates of lesser note to accompany them in their emigration. Burton was a sagacious and experienced man; and while he gently, but earnestly, recommended to John Wesley the virtue of Christian prudence, the wisdom and duty of accommodating himself as far as possible to all men, of forbearing to press upon a society chiefly composed of ignorant and dissolute persons any observance repugnant to their tastes and habits, and not in itself a vital and essential part of the system of Christianity, — he disclosed his acquaintance with the only defective trait in the character of his young and illustrious friend, and endeavoured to communicate to him that moderation of mind, that practical discrimination and sense of moral perspective, which, as he himself had derived it from experience, so experience alone, without miraculous inspiration, can convey to any individual. Some new process of educating the human mind must be discovered, before experience, or any of the virtues which are more peculiarly its progeny, can be effectually imparted in early life. The ardor and confidence, the prompt, open thought and purpose, characteristic of young persons, may be taught to give place to mean suspicion, or premature timidity; but the matured wisdom of a pure and enlightened mind is the fruit of extended personal observation, — the result and test of well spent time. All things having been prepared for the appointed emigration, Oglethorpe again embarked for Georgia, with a great quantity of military stores, and three hundred passengers [October, 1735]; among whom were the Wesleys, three or four of their associates, and a hundred and seventy Germans of the Society of Moravian Brethren. After a long and stormy voyage, which was distinguished by exercises of piety¹ that remind us of the primitive expeditions of the Puritans to New England, these emigrants reached the colony of Georgia [February, 1736], a few days after the arrival of another vessel which had been despatched with a crew of settlers from Scotland.

The trustees had learned that the majority of the unfortu-

¹ See Note IV., at the end of the volume.

nate persons of whom the first embarkations consisted were likely to prove useless and even burdensome members of society; and though they were willing to make an attempt to improve the character and habits of these men, they perceived the necessity of confiding, in the mean time, the defence of the colony, and the performance of the rude toils which were yet necessary to lay the foundations of its prosperity, to settlers of a different description. Sensible that a bold and hardy race of men, inured to rural labor and to coarse and simple habits of living, would be best adapted to the immediate exigencies of cultivation and defence, they turned their eyes to the Highlands of Scotland, and resolved to send a number of Scottish laborers to their infant province. When their propositions were published at Inverness, a hundred and fifty Highlanders immediately closed with them, and were now transported to Georgia. A district on the river Alatomaha, which was considered the boundary between the British and Spanish territories, was forthwith allotted to these emigrants; and, settling in this dangerous situation, they built a town which received the name of New Inverness, and a fort, which, in allusion to the long remembered disappointment of Scotland, they denominated Darien. Here they preserved the Highland garb,¹ cherished their national manners, and lived in a state of laborious, but contented, freedom and independence. They were soon after joined by accessions of adventurers from their native country, who added farther strength and security to the province. In compliance with a request from the trustees, a minister named M'Leod was despatched to Georgia by a society established in Scotland for the propagation of the gospel, who preached to his expatriated countrymen in Gaelic, instructed their children in English, and made some attempts to communicate knowledge and religion to the Indians. John and Charles Wesley, meanwhile, were stationed, as ministers, the one at Savannah, and the other at a new plantation called Frederica, on an island nigh the mouth of the river Alatomaha; and the Germans, who had been their fellow-voyagers, uniting

¹ When Oglethorpe visited them at Darien, he courteously appeared before them in the Highland garb, — a compliment with which they were highly pleased. Oldmixon.

themselves with their brethren who preceded them (and joined soon after by a band of pious exiles from Salzburg, in Bavaria), built a town on Savannah River, to which they gave the name of Ebenezer. Besides his ministerial labor among the colonists, John Wesley made various attempts to instruct the Indians; but was soon obliged to suspend the pursuit of this, his main and favorite object, by their refusal to listen to him, till the conclusion of the wars in which they were engaged.¹

It was now that Oglethorpe began to experience the most arduous trials and troubles incident to his situation, and to find that in his preconception they had not been fully weighed. It has been deemed by some philosophers a wise principle of colonial policy to stock an infant settlement with the greatest possible variety of races and ranks of men, and, after observing attentively their relative thrift, to seek new recruits chiefly in those races and ranks which have attained the most thriving estate. But, to whatever extent the soundness of this very questionable maxim may be admitted, it can never sanction or excuse the hopeless adventure and egregious temerity of laying the foundations of a new commonwealth with spirit-broken, jail-tainted bankrupts, — a race, that, next to felons, forms at once the worst and the most expensive raw material of colonization. Many of the original colonists proved dissolute, idle, and mutinous; some of the magistrates whom Oglethorpe appointed administered the laws with immoderate rigor against other persons, that they might engross to themselves a monopoly of the profits arising from their violation; and rumors were circulated of hostilities from the Spaniards. Oglethorpe, though well fitted by the ardor and generosity of his disposition to commence and impel the progress of a great undertaking, was less qualified to exert the wisdom, prudence, and address requisite to conduct it to a happy consummation. His judgment was, perhaps, somewhat vitiated by an unrestrained indulgence of sanguine and romantic speculation, as his natural impetuosity was certainly inflamed by the possession of supreme and arbitrary power. In the internal government of the colony, he

¹ *Journal of John Wesley.* Whitehead's *Life of the Wesleys*. Loskiel. Oldmixon. Hewit. Holmes.

displayed more spirit and zeal for the general happiness and welfare, than temper and constancy in pursuing a consistent line of policy. He seems to have fluctuated between a lingering indulgence for the original objects of his benevolent concern, and a conscientious desire to improve their manners by a discipline which they were averse to undergo ; and between an honest disapprobation of the misconduct of the magistrates, and a politic fear to discredit authority and increase dissatisfaction by publicly exposing and punishing their malversations. His open and unguarded temper caused him frequently to create the irritation he apprehended, by expressing purposes of severity which he had not sufficient firmness to pursue. John Wesley and his associates labored diligently to elevate the views and correct the evil habits of the people among whom they ministered ; and their characters and exertions were at first the objects of universal admiration. Some improvements in outward conduct were introduced, and some permanent advantage communicated to a few of the settlers. But the majority of the people, and especially the wealthier colonists, soon began to express disgust at Wesley's rigidity, and jealously to interpret his sermons into satires upon particular individuals.

While the Wesleys and their associates seemed to enjoy the favor and countenance of the governor, some foolish and worthless persons hastily or hypocritically professed to embrace their doctrines ; and employing this profession as a cloak for intrigue, spleen, and slander, discredited the ministry of which such evil qualities appeared to be the fruits. Uninformed of all the causes of the opposition that began to manifest itself, the Wesleys, and especially John, continued zealously to preach the doctrines most offensive to the pride of corrupt nature, and to insist on an observance of ecclesiastical ordinances with a strictness, which, however agreeable to the theoretical constitutions of the church of England, had long obtained from ministerial practice and popular acquiescence a considerable relaxation. Oglethorpe, already harassed by the other troubles which beset his difficult position, was perplexed and provoked by the general complaints urged against men whom he expected to find his most useful auxiliaries in promoting contentment and subordination ; and while he

publicly affected to support the Wesleys, he privately entreated them to moderate the expression of their zeal, to forbear from pressing instruction on persons averse to receive it, or weighty doctrine on those to whom the most diluted truth was unpalatable ; and above all to beware of the discredit they sustained, and the evil offices they might incur, from hypocritical pretenders to religious impression. The expediency of this last counsel his own conduct soon after demonstrated in a remarkable manner. While the Wesleys were preparing to leave England, two women, whom vicious love had deprived of reputation, solicited their interest to be admitted among the emigrants, and engaged it by their profession of penitence and resumed virtue. Oglethorpe distrusted this profession ; and after vainly endeavouring to persuade the Wesleys to regard it as hollow and insincere, he yielded to their charitable urgency, with the prophetic assurance that they would have cause to repent it. Doubtless neither he nor they anticipated the manner in which this prediction was to be fulfilled. One of those women now obtained an ascendant, short-lived indeed, but unlimited, over the mind of Oglethorpe,¹ whom she completely estranged from the Wesleys, and induced to regard them as libellous censors of his character, conspirators against his power, fomenters of mutiny and rebellion among the colonists, and even treacherous agents of the Spaniards.

It is difficult to suppose that Oglethorpe, though he affected to believe all these charges, really credited more than the first of them, which, in truth, though utterly destitute of foundation, owed its credit with him as much to the secret surmises of his own conscience as to the arts and blandishments of his unprincipled paramour. While his delusion lasted, he treated

¹ Cooke and Moore, in their interesting *Memoirs of John Wesley*, have adopted a story, — sanctioned (as far as I am able to discover) rather by strong probabilities than satisfactory proof, — that Oglethorpe, on yielding to the seductive advances of this woman, employed her companion to attempt to gain a similar triumph over John Wesley ; accounting that a personal experience of infirmity would render him a softer censor of the frailties of others. The menacing hint communicated one day by Oglethorpe, that he could find plenty of individuals in the colony, who for a bottle of rum would take Wesley's life, has been ascribed to his rage and alarm on finding that his unsuccessful confederate had been prompted by remorse to betray him. The evidence would be complete, if more reliance could be placed on the confession of a profligate woman.

the two brothers, who continued warmly attached to him, with the most tyrannical insolence and injustice, and encouraged his people to reject their counsels with scorn, and deny them even the ordinary offices of humanity and good neighbourhood. A severe illness, however, which endangered his life, opened his eyes to his folly and showed him who were truly his friends ; and from this moment his regard and esteem for the Wesleys continued to subsist and increase through a long succession of years, till the arrival of the period decreed to all earthly friendships and connections. But the regret which he felt for his injurious conduct to them was insufficient to counteract its pernicious consequences, and the Wesleys were soon made sensible that in Georgia their authority was broken and their hopes of usefulness completely blasted. Charles Wesley quitted the province this year, shortly before Oglethorpe himself returned to England ; and in the following year [1737],¹ during Oglethorpe's absence, John Wesley—finding that the people were determined to resist his purpose of baptizing healthy infants only by immersion, that the grand jury had *presented* as a public nuisance his reduction of the English liturgy into three services, and that he was threatened with both civil and criminal process for refusing to administer the sacrament to a notorious adulteress—followed the example of his brother, and bade adieu to America, with the hope, which was never realized, of visiting it again.² But his influ-

¹ The first part of John Wesley's published *Journal* contains a succinct and perspicuous sketch of the state of the British plantations in Georgia at this period, and of the condition and character of the neighbouring tribes of Indians.

² Wynne. Aikin's *Annual Review*, Vol. I. John Wesley's *Journal*. MS. *Journal* of Charles Wesley. This curious and interesting document, which its author was deterred from publishing by unwillingness to hurt the feelings of Oglethorpe, was submitted to my perusal by his daughter, my venerable and accomplished friend, the late Sarah Wesley. The published *Journal* of John Wesley is silent with regard to the most remarkable cause of the dispute with Oglethorpe.

An aged friend of mine informed me that he was in a company in London, where John Wesley, for the first time after his return from America, met with General Oglethorpe, who, on entering the room, advanced up to Wesley, and, on bended knee, kissed his hand.

The children of Charles Wesley repeatedly assured me that both their father and uncle retained the kindest feelings towards Oglethorpe ; that they rather lamented than condemned his conduct to them in Georgia, ascribed it to an unhappy delusion, and were averse to speak about it. I have alluded to it the more particularly on account of the ignorant blame heaped on the Wesleys in relation to this matter by some modern writers.

ence in America, though suspended by his departure, did not expire with it. He returned to England, to found a sect, of which the ramifications have extended to every one of the North American provinces. When we consider, that, if Wesley had succeeded in maintaining his position in Georgia, he would probably have ended his life as a missionary among the Indians, we must regard his failure as a happy circumstance in his lot, and a providential interposition for the advantage both of Britain and of America.

Oglethorpe, meanwhile, with the artillery which he had brought from England, began to fortify Georgia, by erecting strongholds upon its frontiers. At one place, which he named Augusta, a fort was constructed on the banks of Savannah River, in a situation well calculated to protect the Indian trade, and to facilitate conferences for cementing friendship or enlarging commerce with various Indian tribes. At Frederica, another fort, with four regular bastions, was erected; and several pieces of cannon were planted upon it. Ten miles nearer the sea, a battery was raised for the defence of the entrance into the sound, through which alone ships of force could penetrate to Frederica. To defray the expense of these operations, and maintain garrisons in the forts, an additional sum of ten thousand pounds was granted by the British parliament. While Oglethorpe was thus employed, he received intelligence of a considerable reinforcement of the Spanish garrison at Augustine; and shortly after, a message from the governor of this settlement acquainted him that a Spanish commissioner had arrived from Havana, charged with a communication which he desired an early opportunity of personally delivering to the British commander. At a conference which ensued, the commissioner peremptorily required that Oglethorpe and his people should evacuate all the territories lying southward of St. Helena Sound, which he declared to be the undoubted property of the king of Spain, who was determined speedily and effectually to vindicate his rights. He refused to listen to any argument in support of the English claims, and departed with a repetition of his demands and menaces. Oglethorpe, now perceiving that the most vigorous measures, and a stronger defensive force than the province could supply, would be

necessary to repel or overawe the hostile purposes disclosed by Spain, resolved to represent the state of affairs to the British ministers, and, straightway embarking, set sail for England. [November 23, 1736.]

His apprehensions of danger to the colony were increased by demonstrations of hostility from another quarter. A war had recently broken forth in Europe between the king of France and the emperor of Germany, which, it was believed, would inevitably spread to every European state; and as Britain was expected to espouse the quarrel of Germany, the court of France despatched orders to the governors of Quebec and New Orleans to prepare, in that event, to invade the least defensible frontiers of the British settlements in America. For this purpose, an army was assembled in New France, and preparations were made for uniting the force of Canada and Louisiana to attack Carolina and Georgia. But before the hostile design was carried into execution, advice was received that the flames of war had been quenched in Europe, and a general peace restored by the mediation of Britain and Holland. The French governors, however, determined to strike a blow, with the troops they had assembled, against the enemies of France and the allies of England. A detachment of French and Indians accordingly proceeded from Canada down the Mississippi to attack the tribe of Chickasaws, one of the least numerous, but bravest, of the Indian nations, and firmly attached to the English; while another party of French advanced from Louisiana to revenge a quarrel of their countrymen with the Creeks. Both these detachments were repulsed and defeated with considerable slaughter by the Chickasaws and Creeks. The colonists of Carolina and Georgia rejoiced not a little at this result, and began now more diligently than ever to court the friendship and interest of those Indian tribes who had shown themselves so capable of interposing an effectual barrier against the power of France.

During Oglethorpe's absence [1737], the regulations of the trustees respecting the rum trade nearly created a rupture between the provincial governments of Georgia and Carolina. The fortification at Augusta induced some traders of Carolina to establish stores at that place, which was conveniently

situated for commerce with the Indian nations. For this purpose, and to avoid the expense of land carriage, they freighted boats with their goods, to ascend the Savannah River to Augusta. But, as the boats were attempting to pass the town of Savannah, they were stopped by the magistrates of this place, who ordered the packages to be opened, the casks of rum, of which they partly consisted, to be staved, and the crews of the boats to be put in prison. The Carolinians, incensed at this outrage, promptly deputed two members of their council and assembly to demand of the Georgians by what authority they presumed to seize and confiscate the effects of Carolinian traders, or to compel them to submit to the Georgian laws. These deputies were received with respect and civility by the magistrates of Savannah, who had become sensible of their error, and, acknowledging it, gave the amplest redress and satisfaction to the injured traders. Strict orders were communicated to the agents of Georgia among the Indians not to molest the traders from Carolina, but to render them all friendly assistance and protection. The Carolinians, on the other hand, engaged not to smuggle any strong liquors among the settlers of Georgia; and the navigation of the river Savannah was declared open alike to the inhabitants of both provinces. Some of the Georgian planters now began to make considerable advances in clearing and cultivating their lands. The Moravian emigrants, in particular, set a rare example of diligence and virtue. Their plantation was already a model of neatness, comfort, and successful husbandry.¹ They had assisted their poorer and less industrious neighbours, and established a school and mission among the Creek Indians, with the most promising appearance of success. With indefatigable industry and charity they combined the most rigid sense of justice; and before another year elapsed, repaid to the Georgian trustees the money that had been advanced in London to enable them to emigrate to America. Their numbers were now enlarged by an additional emigration of their countrymen and fellow-secta-

¹ "One would scarcely think it possible," said John Wesley, himself distinguished for his economy and diligent improvement of time, "for a handful of men to have done all this in one year."

ries, who imitated and extended the same admirable and happy example.¹

But this example was insufficient to reconcile the majority of the Georgian colonists to their situation, or to counteract the discontent with which the regulations promulgated by the trustees were regarded, especially by those settlers who had first resorted to the province. In the adjacent territory of Carolina they found that they could obtain land on a tenure more liberal than was prescribed by the Georgian constitutions, and enjoy the privilege of purchasing negroes to assist in clearing and cultivating it; and, in contempt of the ordinance against quitting the province without a license, such numbers now began to retire to Carolina that apprehensions were entertained of the total desertion of Georgia. The freeholders of Savannah and its neighbourhood assembled together, and prepared a remonstrance, which they transmitted to the trustees, and in which they protested that the successful cultivation of Georgia was impossible, unless its inhabitants were indulged with the same privileges that were enjoyed by their neighbours in Carolina. In two points, especially, they implored relief from their rulers; they desired a fee-simple or free title of absolute property to their lands, and permission to import negroes under certain limitations; without which, they affirmed, they had neither encouragement to labor, nor means of providing for their posterity. While the Moravians, who never interfered with political affairs, silently demonstrated by their successful industry that the introduction of negro slaves into the province was quite unsupported even by the tyrannical plea of necessity, the colony of Scotch Highlanders loudly and unanimously protested against it as a monstrous outrage upon human nature. They declared that the institution of slavery would be the most formidable grievance that could befall Georgia; that, intermingling a race of barbarous and desperate servants with the provincial families, and rendering one class

¹ Count Zinzendorf paid a visit to England this year, and proposed to the Georgian trustees that a union should take place between the Moravian church and the church of England in Georgia, and that Great Britain should acknowledge the united body as one church. The proposition was submitted to some of the English bishops, who expressed less disinclination than inability to comply with it. *MS. Journal of Charles Wesley.*

of the inhabitants always ready to aid the hostilities of the Spaniards against the others, it might at some future day prove a dreadful scourge, and cause the people of Savannah themselves to feel the smart of that oppression which they so earnestly desired to introduce and exercise. The just, as well as the unjust, complaints of the Georgians were equally disregarded by the trustees.¹

Arriving in England [1738], Oglethorpe found the nation more disposed than the ministers to second his wish for the effectual vindication of the rights of Britain against the pretensions of Spain. For several years, the cabinets of London and Madrid had been involved in a series of disputes arising out of their respective commercial interests and territorial claims in America. The colonies of England, and especially Jamaica, had long carried on a contraband trade with the American settlements of the Spaniards; for the prevention of which, the court of Spain issued orders to its naval commanders to board and search every English vessel navigating the Mexican seas; and, in the execution of this mandate, the Spanish ships of war detained and confiscated so many vessels whose cargoes and destination were perfectly legitimate, that English commerce in that quarter of the world was almost entirely suspended. The merchants of Britain warmly complained of these outrages; and the nation, fired with resentment, cried aloud for vengeance and war. But, amidst the general ardor and indignation, Sir Robert Walpole, the prime minister, appeared unmoved and inactive. Afraid of endangering his power by the increased taxation which a war would require, and unwilling to divert to the equipment of military armaments the existing revenues, which he expended in maintaining, by an amazing extent of bribery, an odious and unpopular administration, he industriously labored to avoid a rupture with Spain, and defended the violated rights and honor of his country only by languid negotiations and fruitless remonstrances.

The outrages of which the English merchants complained were so flagrant and undeniable, that the court of Spain, unable

¹ John Wesley's *Journal*. Loskiel. Hewit. Anderson.

to withstand their claims of compensation, agreed to recognize them ; but deferred the liquidation of the debt, and absolutely refused to abandon the pretension to board and search the vessels of England. Nay, the slender concession which it was impossible to withhold was clogged with the condition, that Britain should abandon her occupation of Georgia and of a considerable part of Carolina ; and so unreservedly did Walpole postpone regard for consistent policy and national honor and interest to the preservation of the forms of peace, that he hearkened even to these insolent and injurious demands, and, by a convention concluded in the commencement of the present year, pactioned with the court of Spain to refer all disputes between the two kingdoms to plenipotentiaries mutually appointed, and engaged, in the mean while, to arrest the progress of all fortifications in Carolina and Georgia. In return, the court of Spain undertook to advance immediately a sum of money for satisfying a part of the claims of those English merchants who had been pillaged of their property by the Spanish cruisers. The merchants of England and the people in general were roused to the highest pitch of indignation by the tidings of this ignominious convention.¹ It was in vain that the minister and his adherents opposed to the public spirit the timorous plea, that England had no continental allies to aid her in a war which would infallibly promote the views of a Popish

¹ In Dr. Johnson's *London*, which was published this year, the national feeling is expressed in these lines : —

“ In pleasing dreams, the happy age renew,
And call Britannia's glories back to view ;
Behold her cross triumphant on the main,
The guard of commerce and the dread of Spain ;
Ere masquerades debauched, excise oppressed,
Or British honor grew a standing jest.”

The attempt of the Spaniards to dispossess destitute men of the refuge they had found in Georgia seems to be alluded to in the following lines of the same poem : —

“ Has Heaven reserved, in pity to the poor,
No pathless waste, or undiscovered shore, —
No secret island in the boundless main, —
No peaceful desert yet unclaimed by Spain ?
Quick let us rise, the happy seats explore,
And bear oppression's insolence no more.”

Oglethorpe was in London when this poem was published ; and, though not till a later period of his life personally acquainted with Johnson, he exerted much diligence to introduce it to the notice of the public. Boswell's *Life of Johnson*.

pretender to the crown. The Georgian trustees united with the merchants of London, Liverpool, and Bristol, in complaining to the House of Commons, which had pledged the national faith for the support and protection of the new province; and their application was seasonably enforced by the infatuated insolence with which the court of Spain, relying on the tameness of Walpole, withheld even the small pecuniary restitution which he had so dearly bought from it. A war with this imperious people was thus rendered inevitable; and though Walpole still continued to fill up the measure of his unpopularity by laboring to elude or postpone that extremity, he found it impossible to withstand the general desire that Georgia should be protected from the grasp of Spain. The national feeling on this point was partaken by the king, to whom the Georgian trustees presented an earnest petition for assistance, and who signified his commands that prompt and effectual measures should be adopted for the security of the province.¹

Oglethorpe was now promoted to the rank of major-general; and with a regiment of six hundred men, and the appointment of commander-in-chief of all the forces in South Carolina and Georgia, once more set sail from England, to undertake the defence of the southern frontiers of the British dominions in America. The parliament, at the same time, aided the new colony with an additional grant of twenty thousand pounds; and for the encouragement of the soldiers, the trustees assured to each of them twenty-five acres of land as the premium of seven years' service in Georgia. The arrival of this force excited the liveliest hope and joy in the two provinces for whose benefit it was more peculiarly destined. The general, establishing his headquarters at Frederica, hastened to erect forts on the islands of Jekyl and Cumberland, situated nearer to the Spanish territories. But the object which he felt it most pressingly requisite to secure was the friendship of the Creek Indians, who had conceived a warm regard for him, and whom the Spaniards during his absence had industriously courted and studied to estrange from their adherence to the English. The Spanish governor had succeeded in enticing some of their chiefs to Augustine, by

¹ Smollett. Hewitt.

the pretence that they would meet their friend Oglethorpe there ; but the efficacy of his offers and caresses was defeated by the anger and suspicion that the savages conceived, on detecting the deceit. Oglethorpe, returning seasonably at this juncture, invited them to meet him at Frederica, where he acknowledged and extolled their fidelity, distributed many valuable presents among them, and united with them in a solemn renewal of their former treaty of friendship and alliance. But the intrigues of the Spaniards were neither checked by this disappointment, nor restricted to the Indians. Learning that murmurs had arisen among the soldiers of the regiment which Oglethorpe brought from England, on account of the hardships of a situation foreign to their previous habits, and that two companies of this regiment had served at Gibraltar and gained there some acquaintance with the Spanish language, the governor of Augustine found means to corrupt one of these men, and by his agency to excite a conspiracy in Oglethorpe's camp. A daring attempt was made to assassinate the general ; but his courage and resolution happily extricated him from the danger ; and the mutineers being suppressed, their ringleaders were shot by the sentence of a court-martial.

Another and more successful effort of Spanish policy was directed to the seduction of the negro slaves in South Carolina, who now amounted to the number of forty thousand. Liberty and protection were tendered to all fugitive negroes from the English by the governor of Florida, and emissaries were despatched to Carolina to acquaint the slaves with the offer and invite them to embrace it. This invitation, sufficiently tempting to men in a state of bondage, however mitigated, was promoted by the cruelty with which despotic power and selfish fear induced many of the planters of Carolina to treat their negroes, and which the provincial laws practically sanctioned by affixing the trifling penalty of seven pounds of the depreciated money of Carolina to the murder of a slave, and remitting half of the penalty to any murderer who should think it expedient to inform against himself.¹ To negroes deserting from Carolina the Spaniards allotted lands near Augustine, where already

¹ See Note V., at the end of the volume.

five hundred fugitives had arrived. Of these negro refugees the governor of Florida composed a regiment ; appointing officers from among themselves, allowing them the same pay and clothing them in the same uniform with the regular troops of Spain. But in the present year, the severity of the Carolinians and the intrigues of the Spaniards produced the formidable mischief of an insurrection of the negroes in South Carolina. A number of these unfortunate persons, having assembled at Stono, first surprised and killed the European proprietors of a large warehouse or magazine, and then plundered it of guns and ammunition. Thus provided with arms, they elected one of their own number to be their captain, and marched under his direction towards the southwest, with colors flying, drums beating, and all the array of an army of hostile invaders. With little violence, they compelled the negroes on the plantations which they approached to join them ; and vented their revengeful rage on the free colonists, of whom, nevertheless, only twenty perished by negro hands. The utmost terror and consternation was excited through the whole of South Carolina. But Bull, the governor, hastily assembling a force against the insurgents, took advantage of the intoxication from which the negroes could not refrain, and attacking them suddenly, while they were celebrating their fancied triumph with orgies which disabled them from obtaining it, easily routed and dispersed their forces. Many of the fugitives hastened back to the plantations they had quitted, hoping to resume their toils without detection ; but the greater number were taken and brought to judicial reckoning. All who had been or seemed to have been compelled to join the other insurgents, contrary to their own inclination, were pardoned ; but a vast number, including the first promoters and chosen leaders of the rebellion, suffered the severest infliction of human power and vengeance.¹

The following year [1739] was signalized by the extremity which Sir Robert Walpole had so long resisted ; and with the unanimous voice of the nation, war was declared by England against Spain. An act of parliament was passed at the same time for naturalizing all foreign Protestants settled in any of the Brit-

¹ MS. *Journal of C. Wesley*. Whitehead's *Life of the Wesleys*. Wynne. Hewit. Holmes.

ish colonies in America.¹ If this act was meant to gratify or retain the Moravian settlers in Georgia, its efficacy was completely defeated by the contemporary proceedings of the English inhabitants of this province. About a year before, when a provincial force was hastily assembled to encounter an apprehended invasion of the Spaniards, the Moravians were summoned to join their fellow-colonists in defending their adopted country. This summons they mildly, but firmly, refused to obey; declaring that no human power or motive could induce them to take the sword, and appealing to the pledge they had received from the trustees of exemption from military service. The magistrates were constrained to admit the force of the appeal; but so much jealousy and displeasure were expressed on this account by the bulk of the planters against the Moravians, that several of these sectaries, unwilling to remain among a people in whom their presence excited unfriendly sentiments, abandoned the province and retired to the peaceful domain of the Quakers in Pennsylvania, where already a numerous society of the Moravian brotherhood was collected. The rest, under the direction of an excellent pastor, named Peter Boehler, continued to reside in Georgia; some desirous of discharging the pecuniary debt which they had contracted to the trustees, and all unwilling to forsake their missionary labors among the neighbouring Indians, which began to be attended with happy results. But in the present year, they again received a summons to join the provincial militia; and, declining to resume the former controversy, they bade farewell to Georgia, surrendered their flourishing plantations without a murmur, and reunited themselves to their brethren who were established in Pennsylvania. One of their number returned shortly after to Georgia, at the request of George Whitefield, with the hope both of assisting that extraordinary man to execute the benevolent project he had undertaken in this province, and of prosecuting the missionary work which had been commenced

¹ Twelve years after, a bill was brought into parliament for naturalizing all foreign Protestants settled in Great Britain. It was supported by Pitt, afterwards Earl of Chatham, and opposed by Fox, afterwards Lord Holland, and by the principal mercantile corporations of England and the bulk of the people. The Prince of Wales, son of George the Second, was its strenuous patron; and his death was the main cause of its failure. Smollett.

among the Creeks. [1740.] Whitefield, undeterred by the disappointment that the Wesleys sustained in Georgia, tendered his services in the province to the trustees ; and having obtained a tract of land from them, he laid the foundation of an *orphan-house*, a few miles from Savannah, and afterwards completed it at a great expense. It was designed to be an asylum for destitute children, of whom great numbers were left dependent on public compassion by the premature deaths of many of the first imported colonists, and who were to be clothed and fed by charitable contributions, and educated in the knowledge and practice of Christianity.¹ The advantages which Whitefield expected to deduce from this humane and laudable institution were never realized ; but his labors and travels, to which it first gave rise, in various parts of America, were subsequently productive of important results. One of his earliest publications was a letter he addressed about this time to the planters of Virginia, Maryland, and the Carolinas, on the cruelties inflicted on their negro slaves, which is said to have produced a considerable amelioration in the treatment of these victims of oppression. During his long and frequent visits to America, he continued steadily to advocate the interests of the negroes, and so successfully as to persuade a number of the planters to emancipate their slaves.²

The British government seemed now resolved to atone for the timid policy that retarded the declaration of war, by the extent of its hostilities upon the Spanish dominions. An application was made to Virginia and North Carolina for a levy of troops to reinforce the English armament despatched against Carthagená under Admiral Vernon, a man whose personal bravery had gained him credit for the possession of qualities much more essential to a commander ; and as Colonel Spotiswoode received a commission to raise and command the provincial auxiliaries, the colonists both of Virginia and North Carolina eagerly obeyed the summons to enrol themselves under the banners of a leader so highly respected and beloved. A considerable force (to which North Carolina contributed four

¹ Loskiel. Holmes. Franklin's *Memoirs*.

² Clarkson's *History of the Abolition of the Slave-trade*. Southey's *Life of Wesley*.

hundred men) was accordingly embodied, and, on the death of Spottiswoode, proceeded, under the command of Gooch, the governor of Virginia, to embark in Vernon's squadron, and shared in the disastrous enterprise against Carthagera, which was defeated by the dissensions between the English commanders, and cost the lives of twenty thousand British subjects, of whom by far the greater number were the victims of a pestilential distemper.¹

Oglethorpe, partaking the general ardor of his countrymen to punish the insolence of Spain, determined not to confine the operation of the force with which he was intrusted to defensive warfare. Having concerted a plan for the invasion of Florida, he solicited the assistance of Virginia and Carolina to its execution. The assembly of South Carolina granted one hundred and twenty thousand pounds of Carolinian currency for the purpose; and a regiment was raised, partly in Virginia and partly in North and South Carolina, to coöperate with the forces of Oglethorpe. The commander of the English ships of war on this station agreed to aid the enterprise with a naval armament, consisting of four ships of twenty guns each, and two sloops; and the Indian allies of the English declared themselves ready, at a moment's warning, to send a powerful auxiliary force to accompany the expedition. Oglethorpe, learning that the Spanish garrison at Augustine were straitened for provisions, urged the speedy advance of the colonial militia and the ships of war; and, hastening to enter Florida with four hundred chosen men of his own regiment, and a considerable body of Indians, invested Diego, a small fort, about twenty-five miles from Augustine, which, after a short resistance, surrendered by capitulation. Leaving a garrison of sixty men there, he proceeded to the place of general

¹ "Such as of late at Carthagera quenched
The British fire. You, gallant Vernon! saw
The miserable scene; you heard the groans
Of agonizing ships from shore to shore;
Heard nightly plunged amid the sullen waves
The frequent corse." — Thomson.

Vernon had supported warlike counsels in the House of Commons with an ardor that was highly agreeable to the nation, and proportionally unacceptable to the minister, who, on finding war inevitable, seized the opportunity of pleasing the people and ridding himself of a troublesome censor by promoting Vernon to the command of the expedition against the Spanish colonies.

rendezvous, where he was joined by Colonel Vanderdussen with the Carolinian and Virginian regiment, and a company of Highlanders, under Captain M'Intosh. A few days after, he marched with his whole force, consisting of above two thousand men, regulars, provincials, and Indians, to Fort Moosa, within two miles of Augustine, which was evacuated by its garrison on his approach. The Spaniards had exerted themselves to strengthen the fortifications of the town and castle of Augustine; and Oglethorpe, soon perceiving that an attempt to take the place by storm would be an act of presumptuous rashness, changed his plan of operation, and resolved, with the assistance of the English ships, which were now lying at anchor off Augustine bar, to turn the siege into a blockade. For this purpose, he left Colonel Palmer, with ninety-five Highlanders and forty-two Indians, at Fort Moosa, with orders to scour the woods round the town, and intercept all supplies of provisions which it might derive from the country; and sent Colonel Vanderdussen with the Carolina regiment to occupy and erect a battery on Point Quarrel, a neck of land about a mile distant from the castle; while he himself, with his own regiment and the main body of the Indians, embarked in boats, and landed on the island of Anastatia, fronting the castle, whence he resolved to attempt the bombardment of the town. When his batteries were erected, and the ships of war so stationed as to block up the mouth of the harbour and exclude the garrison from supplies by sea, he summoned the governor of the place to surrender; but, secure in his stronghold, the Spaniard replied that he would be glad to shake hands with him in the fortress. Oglethorpe, whose disposition was fiery and irascible, expressed much inappropriate anger at this reply, and straightway proceeded to open his batteries upon the castle, and to throw shells into the town. The cannonade was briskly returned by the enemy; but the distance was so great, that, although it was continued for several days, very little execution was done on either side.

A series of disasters and calamities now befell the besieging army. The Spanish governor, remarking the smallness of the force stationed at Fort Moosa under Colonel Palmer, secretly detached three hundred of his troops, by whom Palmer was

attacked by surprise, and his party of gallant Highlanders almost entirely cut to pieces. Some of the Chickasaw Indians, having caught a straggling Spaniard, cut off his head, and presented the gory trophy to Oglethorpe in his tent. The general was struck with disgust and horror at this savage style of warfare, and hastily exclaiming that they were *barbarous dogs*, commanded them to quit his presence. Stung by this disdainful behaviour, the Chickasaw warriors angrily observed, that, if they had carried the head of an Englishman to the French, they would have experienced a very different reception ; and having communicated the insult they had sustained to their companions, the whole detachment from the Chickasaw tribe immediately abandoned the camp and returned home. While the besieging forces were thus diminished, the Spanish garrison received a reinforcement of seven hundred men and a copious supply of provisions in some small ships from Havana, which contrived to elude the vigilance of the British vessels and to enter the harbour undiscovered. All prospect of starving the enemy into a surrender consequently ceased, and the besiegers began to despair of a successful issue to their undertaking. The Carolina troops, enfeebled by the heat of the climate, and dispirited by sickness and fruitless fatigue, marched away in large bodies. The naval commander represented, that, from the deficiency of his provisions and the near approach of the usual season of hurricanes, he judged it imprudent to retain the fleet longer on this coast. The general himself was attacked by a fever, and his regiment was worn out with fatigue and crippled by sickness. This combination of adverse circumstances rendered it necessary to abandon the enterprise ; and Oglethorpe, overwhelmed with chagrin, raised the siege and returned to Frederica. [July 10, 1740.] The Carolinians were filled with anger and disappointment at this catastrophe, and openly imputed it to want of courage and skill in the general ; while he increased their irritation by retorting their injustice, and declaring that he had now no confidence in their militia, who had refused obedience to his orders, and mutinously or pusillanimously deserted his camp. Oglethorpe, indeed, did not deserve the imputations that were thrown on his military skill, and much less on his

courage, of which the strain was rather heroic than temperate ; but he showed a want both of reflective prudence and moderation¹ in stigmatizing with abrupt and vehement censure the mode of warfare practised by a faithful though savage ally, and in expecting from a troop of brave but undisciplined militia the same mechanical obedience that he was accustomed to exact from regular soldiers. The Carolinians had not ceased to deplore their misfortune, when [November, 1740] they sustained a heavy aggravation of it from a desolating fire which broke forth in Charleston, laid in ashes three hundred of the principal houses in the town, and occasioned damage that was estimated at two hundred thousand pounds. The assembly applied for relief to the British parliament, which granted twenty thousand pounds to be distributed among the sufferers.²

Nothing could be more unfortunate than the conduct of Great Britain in this war. [1741.] Admiral Vernon, hoping to retrieve his miscarriage at Carthagea by a more successful enterprise against another of the colonial settlements of Spain, obtained, in consequence of a requisition from the British government to the North American provinces, a reinforcement of three thousand six hundred men, chiefly supplied by the States of New England. Thus recruited, he made a descent upon Cuba, where, without venturing to attempt any operation of the slightest importance, he lingered, with the inactivity of a weak and bewildered mind, till, by the recurrence of pestilential maladies, the fleet was miserably dispeopled, and the army ingloriously melted away. Of the New England auxiliaries, scarcely one man in fifty survived the expedition. This calamity overspread America with mourning, and excited a mixture of grief and indignation in England, where the people began to perceive that Vernon's capacity had been strangely overrated. The legislative policy of Britain, in relation to the

¹ The conduct of Oglethorpe, at this period, seems to have resembled his conversation in later years, which, though admired for its generous fire and vivacity, was reproached as desultory and immethodical. "Oglethorpe," said Dr. Johnson, "never completes what he has to say." Boswell's *Life of Johnson*. Horace Walpole says that Oglethorpe "was always a bully." *Letters to Sir Horace Mann*, October, 1746. But Horace Walpole was no very competent judge of the character of a hero. He has termed Washington "an excellent fanfaron!" *Ib.* October, 1754; and done his utmost to depreciate the genius of Sir Philip Sidney.

² Smollett. Hewitt. Burk. Williamson. Holmes.

war, exhibited the same blundering indiscretion and futility that characterized her executive operations. Although hostilities had not yet been formally proclaimed between Britain and France, the design of France to support the quarrel of Spain was become increasingly manifest; and it was equally evident that England would be soon involved in the continental disputes of her sovereign, as Elector of Hanover, with France and her German allies. A bill was now introduced into the British parliament, for distressing the French and Spaniards, by prohibiting the exportation of all provisions, of whatsoever description, and particularly of rice, from any part of the British dominions. With great difficulty, the parliament was prevailed on to except rice from the operation of this act, by a representation from South Carolina, which clearly demonstrated that the restriction of the existing commerce of that article would prove highly detrimental to Britain, and perfectly harmless to her enemies. In this representation it was asserted, that, "if any stop be put to the exportation of rice from South Carolina to Europe, it will not only render the planters there incapable of paying their debts, but also reduce the government of this province to such difficulties for want of money, as at this present precarious time may render the whole colony an easy prey to their neighbours, the Indians and Spaniards, *and also to those yet more dangerous enemies, their own negroes, who are ready to revolt on the first opportunity, and are eight times as many in number as there are white men able to bear arms*; and the danger in this respect is greater since the unhappy expedition to Augustine."¹

Admiral Vernon having now quitted the American seas, the Spaniards, delivered from the fear of the English fleet and exulting in its disasters, determined to improve their good fortune by a vigorous effort for the conquest of Georgia and South Carolina. An armament was accordingly prepared at Havana, whence two thousand troops, commanded by Don Antonio de Rodondo, embarked, under the convoy of a powerful squadron, for Augustine. [May, 1742.] Before they reached this place, they were descried by the captain of an English cruiser, who conveyed the tidings of danger to Oglethorpe, by whom a mes-

¹ Douglass. Smollett. Hewitt. Gordon. Trumbull.

senger was despatched to Glen, the governor of South Carolina, beseeching instant aid, and desiring that a sloop should be despatched to the West Indies, in order that Vernon, if he was still there, might be acquainted with the intended invasion. But the Carolinians now regarded Oglethorpe with strong dislike, and entertained a mean opinion of his ability; and no sooner was the alarming intelligence which he communicated made generally known, than the planters of the southern frontier of the province, accounting the conquest of Georgia inevitable, deserted their own habitations, and flocked to Charleston with their families and effects. The inhabitants of Charleston warmly declared against sending any assistance to Oglethorpe, and determined rather to fortify their city and collect the whole strength of the province for its defence. This purpose was equally ungenerous and imprudent. In such an emergency, good policy required that the united force of both colonies should be exerted to prevent the Spaniards from penetrating through the thickets of Georgia, and reaching the opener country and negro population of South Carolina. Divided by erroneous policy, the force of the two provinces was plainly insufficient to the public defence; and, by abandoning the Georgians to their fate, the Carolinians provoked their own ruin. Nevertheless, they conveyed tidings of the danger of Georgia to Virginia, where a wiser and more liberal policy prevailed, and an instant and unanimous resolution was embraced by the assembly to detach a naval force to the aid of Oglethorpe. But the contest was decided before the Virginian succour arrived.

In the mean time, Oglethorpe was making the most active preparation at Frederica for the reception of the enemy. The Creeks and Cherokees, who were warmly attached to him, readily obeyed his summons, and crowded to his camp. A company of Highlanders joined him on the first notice, and expressed a stern and earnest satisfaction at the prospect of revenging the fate of their friends who were slaughtered two years before by the Spaniards at Fort Moosa. With his own regiment, and a few provincial rangers, Highlanders, and Indians, the general fixed his head-quarters at Frederica, confidently expecting a reinforcement from Carolina, and daily looking for its arrival; but withal determined, in case he should be attacked unaided, to sell his life as dearly as possible in defence of

the province. In the latter end of June, the Spanish fleet, consisting of thirty-two vessels, and carrying upwards of three thousand men, of whom Don Manuel de Monteano, the governor of Augustine, was commander-in-chief, arrived in the mouth of the river Alatomaha ; and having received and returned the fire of Fort Simon, where Oglethorpe was stationed, sailed up the river beyond the reach of his guns. The invaders disembarked on the island in which Frederica is situated, and erected a battery mounted by twenty pieces of cannon. Among their land forces they had a fine company of artillery, commanded by Rodondo, and a regiment of negroes. The negro officers were clothed in lace, enjoyed the same rank with the Spanish officers, and with equal freedom accosted and conversed with the commander-in-chief. Such an example might justly have inspired terror and alarm in Carolina ; for it needed little sagacity to perceive, that, if the invaders should penetrate into that province, and exhibit the spectacle of their negro regiment to the swarms of discontented slaves with which it abounded, they would infallibly obtain the accession of such a force as would render all opposition fruitless and desperate.

Oglethorpe, finding that he could not withstand the progress of the enemy up the river, and judging his situation at Fort Simon insecure, spiked its guns, and retreated to Frederica. With a force amounting to little more than seven hundred men, exclusive of Indians, he could not hope to act but on the defensive, until the arrival of the lingering aid of Carolina. On all sides he detached scouting parties of Highlanders and Indians to watch the motions, harass the outposts, and obstruct the advances of the enemy, while the main body of his troops were employed in strengthening the fortifications of Frederica. The provisions of his garrison were scanty and of indifferent quality ; and as the Spaniards possessed the command of the river, all prospects of a farther supply were cut off. Yet hoping for relief from Carolina, Oglethorpe studied to prolong the defence, by concealing every discouraging circumstance from his little army ; and in order to animate their perseverance, he cheerfully exposed himself to the same privations and fatigues which the common soldiers endured. This generous policy was attended with its usual success, and sustained the patience of the

troops under labors and hardships, which were divested of the appearance of constraint by the voluntary participation of the commander. The Spanish troops now made several attempts to pierce through the woods in order to besiege Oglethorpe's head-quarters, but encountered such stubborn resistance from deep morasses, and dark and tangled thickets, lined with fierce Indians and active Highlanders, that some of them protested impatiently that the devil himself could not make his way to Frederica. In two skirmishes, a Spanish captain and two lieutenants were killed, and a hundred of their men taken prisoners. Encouraged by this ray of success, and learning from an English prisoner who escaped from the Spanish camp, that a disagreement had arisen between the forces from Havana and those from Augustine, which occasioned a separation of their encampments, Oglethorpe resolved to attempt the daring measure of sallying from his stronghold and attacking the enemy while thus divided. Availing himself of his acquaintance with the woods, he marched in the night, with three hundred of his regular soldiers, the Highland company, and a troop of provincial rangers, in the hope of surprising one of the Spanish camps. Having arrived within two miles of it, he halted his troops, and advanced himself, with a small corps, to reconnoitre the enemy's position ; but while he was cautiously manœuvring to conceal his approaches, one of his attendants, a Frenchman, who had harboured the intention of deserting, seized this opportunity of carrying it into effect ; and, discharging his musket to alarm the Spaniards, ran off and gained the shelter of their lines.

This act of treachery defeated the hopes of the assailants, and compelled a hasty retreat to Frederica, where Oglethorpe now endeavoured to accomplish by stratagem what he had failed to achieve by surprise. Apprehensive that his weakness would be discovered to the enemy by the deserter, he wrote a letter to this man, in which he addressed him as a spy in his employ, and instructed him to assure the Spaniards that Frederica was in a defenceless state, and that its garrison might be easily cut to pieces. He pressed him to bring forward the Spaniards to an attack, and, if he could not prevail thus far, to use all his art and influence to detain them at least three days

more in their present situation ; for within that time, according to advices which had just arrived from Carolina, the Georgian troops would be reinforced by two thousand auxiliaries, accompanied by six British ships of war. The letter concluded with a caution to the deserter against suffering the intelligence of Admiral Vernon's approaching attack upon Augustine to transpire, and with assurance of the amplest recompense that the British king could bestow on him, if he succeeded in preventing the escape of the Spaniards from Georgia. This ingenious production was committed to a Spanish prisoner, who, for a small reward, together with his liberty, undertook to convey it privately to the deserter ; but, on rejoining his countrymen, delivered it, as Oglethorpe expected, to the commander-in-chief, who instantly put the deserter in irons. The Spanish officers were not a little perplexed and confounded by the contents of the letter ; some shrewdly suspecting it to be a stratagem to prevent an attack on Frederica ; and others duped by its literal import, and believing it to convey sincere instructions to direct the conduct of a spy. While they were deliberating on these opposite probabilities, and hesitating what measures to pursue, their counsels were suddenly decided by an incident beyond the calculation of human ingenuity. Three ships, which the governor of South Carolina had at length despatched to Oglethorpe's aid, appeared at this critical juncture off the coast ; and an effect, more than proportioned to the power or numbers of this reinforcement, was produced by its opportune arrival. All doubts of the purpose of Oglethorpe's letter were terminated by so palpable a confirmation of its contents. A universal panic was spread through the Spanish army, and nothing was heeded but instant departure. Setting fire to the fort they had built, and leaving behind them a great quantity of artillery, provisions, and military stores, they precipitately embarked in their vessels, and returned to Augustine and Havana. [July, 1742.]

The triumph of Oglethorpe was complete, in this happy deliverance of Georgia from the brink of destruction. Monteano did not escape the censure of military critics, who remarked that he passed fifteen days on the small island that contained Frederica, without being able to reach this fort, and lost some

of his bravest troops, without gaining the smallest advantage over the inconsiderable force that was opposed to him. Rodondo, on his arrival at Havana, was thrown into prison for his share in the ignominious result ; and a resumption of the invasion of Georgia was openly announced by the Spaniards, but never actually undertaken. The inhabitants of South Carolina incurred deep and general blame for their conduct, which was resented by Oglethorpe and the Georgians with the liveliest indignation. Some of the Carolinian planters condemned the selfish and splenetic policy of their countrymen, and united with the inhabitants of the other provinces in celebrating the bravery of the Georgians, and hailing Oglethorpe as the hero and deliverer of British America. Others censured every part of his conduct, depreciated his valor and skill, and ascribed the safety of Georgia to the favor of Divine Providence, or the blindness of chance. Oglethorpe's merit had been illustrated too conspicuously to suffer him to pay any regard to these mean effusions of pique and envy ; but his honor was more sensibly touched by charges of fraud and embezzlement, which originated with certain profligate settlers in Georgia, and were industriously disseminated in England by Colonel Cook, one of his own officers, who repaired thither for the purpose. Learning that these statements had made an impression on some of the Georgian trustees, and provoked much discussion among military men in England, Oglethorpe judged it due to his character to return thither without delay. [1743.] Soon after his arrival, a court-martial of general officers was assembled to investigate the charges preferred against him, which, after a patient inquiry, they adjudged to be utterly false and malicious. Cook was in consequence dismissed from the British army, and declared incapable of ever again serving the king. Oglethorpe's character was thus effectually cleared ; and it was universally acknowledged, that to his generosity, valor, and ability Carolina owed her safety and repose, and Georgia her existence and preservation. He never afterwards returned to Georgia ; but in England continued to render services to the people of this province, and to display an unwearied zeal for their happiness and improvement.¹ Oglethorpe made as great efforts and sacrifices

¹ Smollett. Hewitt. Marshall's *Life of Washington*. Burk. Oglethorpe

for Georgia as William Penn had done for Pennsylvania, and without creating a private estate to himself or seeking any personal emolument from his labors. But he was not, like Penn, at the head of a religious society, which, identifying its honor with his, would have magnified and perpetuated the glory of his achievements with all the ardor of sectarian partiality.

The provincial government to which Georgia had been hitherto subjected was of a military character, and administered by Oglethorpe and a class of subordinate functionaries appointed by him. But now the trustees judged it expedient to establish a system of civil jurisdiction, of which the administration was intrusted to a president and four assistants, who were to act in conformity with the instructions of the trustees, and to be responsible to them for their public conduct. William Stephens was appointed president, and Thomas Jones, Henry Parker, John Fallowfield, and Henry Mercer, assistants. They were instructed to hold, every year, four general courts, at Savannah, for regulating public affairs and adjusting disputes relative to private property. No public money could be disposed of, but by a warrant from the president and a majority of the assistants in council assembled, who were enjoined to transmit monthly accounts of their expenditure to England. All officers of militia previously appointed were continued in their functions, and required to hold musters for the purpose of training the colonists to military service; and Oglethorpe's regiment was left in the province for its additional security. An important alteration took place at the same time in the regulations formerly enacted with respect to the tenure of lands in Georgia. The trustees had already transported upwards of fifteen hundred per-

was employed in Scotland, in the year 1745, against the rebels; and died in the year 1785, after beholding the province he had founded severed from the British empire, and converted into one of the members of a republican confederacy. "This, it has been justly observed, is the first example in modern times of the founder of a colony who has lived to see that colony recognized by the world as a sovereign, independent state. The late President Adams saw General Oglethorpe in 1785, a short time before his decease. Within a day or two after his arrival in London as ambassador from the United States, the general visited him, and was very polite and complimentary. He had come, he said, to pay his respects to the first American ambassador and his family, whom he was very glad to see in England; he expressed a great esteem and regard for America, much regret at the misunderstanding between the two countries, and lively satisfaction at having lived to see the termination of it. About a month after, the newspapers announced Oglethorpe's death, at the uncommon age of one hundred and four years." Holmes.

sions to the province (exclusive of the emigrants who repaired thither at their own cost) ; but not a half of this number now remained in it ; and as it was justly believed that the desertion of the settlers was partly occasioned by the feudal restrictions originally imposed on the tenure of land, this system was now abolished, and the right of absolute property in land, on condition of a small quitrent, substitutionally introduced. This innovation, which prevented the province from being entirely deserted, was more conducive to the advantage of the colonists than to the mitigation of their discontent. Many useful and industrious settlers had already withdrawn the benefit of their exertions and example from Georgia ; and the bulk of its population was composed of indigent and dissolute persons, who had little acquaintance with husbandry and less inclination to labor, who preferred complaint and dependence to active efforts for the amelioration of their own predicament, and who continued incessantly to clamor for the introduction of negro slaves. The colonial establishment was kept alive by the industry of the Scottish Highlanders, and of certain German laborers who had latterly resorted to it. Though some excellent silk had been already produced in Georgia, yet the quantity was very inconsiderable ; the colonists discovered no inclination to augment it ; and the hopes of England in this respect were disappointed.

Shortly after the departure of Oglethorpe, the colony was exposed to great peril from the ambition and intrigues of one Bosomworth, who came to Georgia as chaplain of Oglethorpe's regiment, and, having married an Indian woman, persuaded the Creeks to acknowledge her as their queen. He contrived to estrange this people from the provincial government, and, marching against Savannah at the head of a numerous Indian host, supported a pretended claim of his wife to a considerable portion of the provincial territory, and summoned the colonists to surrender it on pain of extermination. By the prudence and firmness of President Stephens and his council, and the daring valor of Jones, the captain of a very scanty troop of militia, the Indians were deprived of their leaders and with difficulty constrained to a reluctant submission.¹

¹ *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society.* An earlier and far more

It was chiefly in its effects on the province of South Carolina that the establishment of Georgia at first seemed to fulfil the expectations of its founders. Delivered from the fear of the Spaniards by the intervention of this new settlement, which effectually covered their most vulnerable frontier, the Carolinians increased their plantations, undisturbed by any other alarm than what was suggested by the concomitant increase in the numbers of their negro slaves. Soon after the departure of Oglethorpe, they petitioned the king to order three independent companies of soldiers to be raised in the various colonies, at the expense of Great Britain, for the defence of Carolina against its own negro population. The only reason that was urged in support of the petition, that the colony was overstocked with negroes, appeared unsatisfactory to the British privy council, to which the petition was remitted; and the application, though finally complied with, proved in the first instance unsuccessful. Great numbers of emigrants continued meanwhile to repair to South Carolina, both from Germany and Holland; and in the year 1744, two hundred and thirty vessels were loaded at the port of Charleston alone, — an indication of the increased national value of the province, in respect not only of the quantity of British goods which it consumed, but of the general naval strength of the empire, which it promoted. At least fifteen hundred seamen were then employed in the trade of South Carolina. Among the later emigrants to this province were a great many artisans and manufacturers; but in spite of the profits that these settlers derived from the exercise of the crafts they had learned in Europe, they were all very soon induced to become planters, by the dignity attached to the possession of landed property, and the ease and pleasure of rural life and occupation. The rebellion, which, in the following year [1745], originated in Scotland, proved, in its termination, highly beneficial to the popula-

profound and interesting scheme for the destruction of the colony has been ascribed to one Preber, a German Jesuit, whose intrigues among the Creeks and Cherokees were happily detected and defeated by Oglethorpe. Of this Preber, who seems in genius and accomplishments to have equalled, if not surpassed, his brother Jesuit, Sebastian Rasles, of New England (*ante*, Book VIII., Chap. II.), a curious, though not very well authenticated, account is preserved in the *Annual Register* for 1760.

tion of the North American provinces, and strongly promotive, at the same time, of jealous and vindictive sentiments towards Britain. Parliamentary statutes, gleaning the refuse of the sword and the gibbet, doomed many of the unhappy men, who had followed their chieftains in assertion of the claims of the Pretender, to be transported to the American plantations ; and Carolina and Georgia, among other States, derived from this source a large augmentation of the numbers of their inhabitants, and a notable immixture of political sentiment and opinion. As if to facilitate the subsistence and enrichment of its increasing population, the important discovery of the growth of indigo in South Carolina occurred about the same time. This valuable plant was observed to grow spontaneously almost everywhere in the wild glades of the forest ; and as an immense profit attended the first attempt to introduce it into commerce, a great number of planters directed their attention to the culture of indigo and the art of extracting its dye. So rapidly did the newly ascertained supply of this article increase, that, in the year 1747, at least three hundred thousand pounds of indigo had been shipped from Carolina to England ; and in the following year the British parliament passed an act¹ for allowing a bounty of sixpence per pound on all indigo raised in the American colonies and exported directly to Britain.

After the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, the chief attention of the British government was directed to the colonization of Acadia, or Nova Scotia [1749] ; but the interests of Carolina and Georgia were not neglected ; and from time to time various small sums were granted to the Georgian trustees, to aid them in the plantation of the province committed to their care. In the year 1750, South Carolina had made such advances, that its population amounted to sixty-four thousand persons. In the same year, eight vessels only departed from Georgia ; and the exports with which they were loaded amounted to little more than two thousand pounds. To encourage the growth

¹ Stat. 21 George II., Cap. 30. In the parliamentary investigation which preceded this act, it was ascertained that indigo was one of the most beneficial articles of French commerce ; and that Great Britain alone consumed annually six hundred thousand pounds' weight of French indigo, which, at five shillings a pound, cost the nation one hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling. Anderson. Drayton.

and culture of silk in Carolina and Georgia, an act of parliament was now passed, exempting from custom-house duties all silk manufactured in any of the British colonies in America, and imported from thence into the mother country. A similar exemption was extended soon after [1751] to pot and pearl ashes, of which large quantities had been imported from foreign nations for the use of the British soap manufacture.¹ That an increase occurred about this time in the Georgian trade we may infer from the complaints of those writers who have lamentingly stated, that, in the year 1752, the whole annual exports from Georgia did not exceed in value ten thousand pounds. Yet this province had not increased in proportion to the public expectation ; and its inhabitants, in general, were affected with incurable discontent. Disgusted with this result, and wearied with the complaints of their people, the trustees of Georgia now willingly surrendered their expiring charter to the crown from which it was derived. A provincial constitution, precisely similar to that of Carolina, was thereupon established in Georgia [June 20, 1751] ; John Reynolds, a naval officer, was appointed the first governor ; and negro slavery was forthwith introduced. Three years afterwards, a court of justice, modelled in conformity with the courts of law in the parent state, was established by letters patent from the crown. Some time had still to elapse, before the value of the soil of Georgia was generally known, and that spirit of industry broke forth in the province, by which the extent of its resources was practically ascertained. It was in Carolina that the first effects of every measure of the parent state for the benefit of Georgia long continued to be visible. In the year 1752, upwards of fifteen hundred foreign Protestants arrived in South Carolina ; and the annual commerce of this province was found to employ three hundred British ships.²

Georgia was the only one of the North American provinces of which the formation was promoted by pecuniary aid supplied by the British government. None of the other colonies in their infancy excited so much expectation of national advan-

¹ Stat. 24 George II., Cap. 51.

² Oldmixon. Wynne. Hewit. Drayton. Stokes's *British Colonies*. Holmes. Smollett.

tage in England, and none created greater disappointment, or evinced a more languid increase.¹ In addition to the other causes that have been already particularized, it is probable that the parliamentary grants by which the settlers were aided contributed in some measure to this untoward issue, by encouraging them to rely on extraneous assistance, in contending with the difficulties of their situation. Rice, tobacco, cotton, and indigo became the principal objects of culture to the colonists; and the restriction imposed on trade to the West Indies having been removed, considerable quantities of lumber were exported thither. The value of the exports of Georgia in 1755 was £15,744 sterling. In the following year, the exports consisted of 2,997 barrels of rice, 9,395 pounds of indigo, and 268 pounds of raw silk, which, together with skins, furs, lumber, and provisions, amounted in value to £16,776. It was not till some time after, that the colonists were apprized of the superior excellence of the Georgian tobacco, and of the peculiar adaptation of their territory to this produce. The first issue of bills of credit or paper money, to the amount of about eight thousand pounds, received the sanction of the Georgian legislature in the year 1760.² For the convenience of the increasing cultivation of rice and tobacco, large importations of negroes were made from time to time; but many years elapsed before any accurate census either of the white or negro population of this province was taken. In none of the North American provinces did slavery prevail more extensively, or were slaves treated with greater rigor, than in this, where alone of all the provinces the existence of slavery had been prohibited by its fundamental constitutions. So vain are the enactments of legislators, without the auxiliary support of moral sentiments and general opinion. If the temptations to employ

¹ In Burke's celebrated speech in the House of Commons on economical reform, in 1780, there occurs the following passage:—"Georgia, till lately, has made a very slow progress; and never did make any progress at all, until it had wholly got rid of all the regulations which the Board of Trade had moulded into its original constitution. That colony has cost the nation very great sums of money; whereas the colonies which have had the fortune of not being godfathered by the Board of Trade never cost the nation a shilling, except what has been so profusely spent in losing them. But the colony of Georgia, weak as it was, carried with it to the last hour, and carries even in its present dead, pallid visage, the perfect resemblance of its parents."

² Morse's *American Gazetteer*. Hewit. Stokes.

slave labor, in the infancy of a colonial settlement, overpowered even the boasted virtue of Quakers in the milder climate of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, it was vain to expect more self-denial from the idle and dissolute persons who were first transported to the torrid region of Georgia. Among other innovations on the policy of the trustees, introduced by the royal government, the original restriction on the importation of rum was removed, and vast quantities of this and other spirituous liquors were consumed by the colonists, who justified their intemperance by the plea, well or ill founded, that the universal brackishness of the water of Georgia was beneficially corrected by an infusion of ardent spirits.¹

Collected from various parts of the world, the inhabitants of Georgia were distinguished by a great diversity of character and manners. The original emigrants from Scotland have been described as a remarkably moral, religious, industrious, and happy race. William Bartram, the philosophic traveller who visited Georgia in 1773, found several of these families living in the full enjoyment of rural ease and plenty, and in the practice of every kind and Christian virtue.² But the qualities by which the Georgians have been most generally characterized are, an indolent aversion to labor,—imported with the earliest class of planters, and promoted by the heat of the climate,³—the employment of negro slaves, and the copious use of spirituous liquors; an open and friendly hospitality, and an eager addiction to hunting, horse-racing, cock-fighting, pugilistic exercises, and gambling. The introduction of Methodism

¹ Winterbotham.

² He celebrates their hospitality with the grateful praise which this virtue always obtains from travellers:—"The venerable gray-headed Caledonian smilingly accosted me coming up to his house, 'Welcome, stranger, come in and rest; the air is now sultry,'" &c. "Friend Bartram," said another of these settlers of Caledonian extraction to the traveller, "come under my roof, and I desire you to make my house your home, as long as convenient to yourself; remember that from this moment you are a part of my family." Among these people, the traveller adds, "I found sincerity in union with all the virtues under the influence of religion." Bartram's *Travels in Carolina, Georgia, &c.*

³ Henry Ellis, F. R. S., and governor of Georgia, in a letter written in July, 1758, from the seat of his government to a friend in England, declares that "one cannot sit down to any thing that requires much application, but with extreme reluctance; for such is the debilitating quality of our violent heats in this season, that inexpressible languor enervates every faculty, and renders even the thought of exercising them painful." *Annual Register for 1760.*

into America, a few years after the present period, by the exertions of Whitefield and other associates of John Wesley, exercised a salutary influence on the character of a considerable portion of this people. A great variety of religious sects or associations arose in the province prior to the American Revolution, but the majority of the inhabitants were Methodists or Presbyterians. Except Whitefield's Orphan-house, which was unfortunately destroyed by fire after large sums of money had been expended on its erection, no seminary of education arose in Georgia till after its separation from the parent state. The seat of government of the province, which was first established at Savannah, was afterwards transferred to Augusta, then to Louisville, and subsequently to Milledgeville.¹

Surrounded by powerful Indian tribes, and sensible of the advantage of friendly relations with them, the Georgians demeaned themselves with scrupulous equity and courtesy in their transactions and intercourse with these savage neighbours. The same wise and humane policy was now pursued by the government of South Carolina, which, in the year 1752, interposed its good offices to prevent a war which was on the point of breaking out between the Creeks and the Cherokees.²

Among other involuntary laborers, Georgia, in common with the rest of the British colonies, received considerable importations of convicted felons from England. From the state of society in the colony, this commixture of free colonists and convicts appears to have proved remarkably injurious to both. "Georgia," says an American statistical writer, "was at one time the principal retreat of a race of men called *Crackers*, who were chiefly descended from convicts, and led a wild and vagrant life, like the Indians, with no other effects than a rifle and a blanket, and subsisting upon the deer, turkeys, and other game which the woods furnish. These migratory bands disappear, as the country is settled."³

¹ Morse. Winterbotham. See Note VI., at the end of the volume.

² Hewit.

³ Warden. Wordsworth has given a fine, but, in every sense of the word, a *poetical*, description of the character and pursuits of this class of the Georgian people, in his beautiful poem, *Ruth*.

BOOK X.

PROGRESS

OF THE

STATES OF NORTH AMERICA,

TILL THE

PEACE OF PARIS, IN 1763.



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CHAPTER I.

Affairs of New York. — Zenger's Trial. — Prosperous State of New England. — Controversy between Massachusetts and New Hampshire. — Intrigues for the Removal of Governor Belcher. — New England Missions. — Jonathan Edwards. — David Brainerd. — Affairs of Pennsylvania — Benjamin Franklin — George Whitefield. — Disputes respecting a military Establishment. — Discontent of the Indians. — War with France. — Louisburg — the Invasion of it projected by New England — and undertaken — Siege — and Surrender of Louisburg. — Jealousy of Britain. — Effects of the Enterprise in America. — Rebellion in Behalf of the Pretender in Britain. — Armament despatched from France against the British Colonies — discomfited.

SINCE the departure of Burnet from New York, the government of this province had been conducted in a manner injurious to the colonists and discreditable to the parent state. The feeble and negligent sway of Montgomery was terminated by his death, in 1731. Yet no improvement of public policy was perceptible during the succeeding year, when the government was exercised by the senior member of the council, Rip Van Dam, a substantial burgher of New York, and a well-meaning, but sluggish and heavy-minded man. In the close of the year 1732, there arrived from England, as the successor of Montgomery, Colonel William Cosby, an officer of some talent and activity, but, unfortunately, more remarkable for arbitrary principles, a haughty and imperious demeanour, a violent temper, and sordid disposition. Having borrowed a large sum of money from the counsellor, Van Dam, he endeavoured to evade repayment by instituting an unjust and

absurd suit against him for recovery of all the official fees and perquisites he had received during his temporary administration of the government. [1734.] Cosby insisted that the judges of the common law tribunal of New York should determine this process, without the intervention of a jury; and when Lewis Morris, the chief justice, declared that this was not within the competence of the court, he displaced him from his office, and bestowed it on James De Lancey, who professed more subservience to the governor's will. This appointment was made by the mere authority of Cosby, without the consent of the council, which, by the provincial constitutions, was requisite to the validity of judicial commissions. In his intercourse with the assembly, Cosby conducted himself with the most lofty and offensive arrogance, and soon kindled an active spirit of jealousy and opposition among all classes of people in the province, except his own immediate dependents. To the discontents thus occasioned by domestic provocation were added a strong apprehension of external hostility, from the increasing influence of the French over the Indians. In the course of the present year, some precautions, suggested by this danger, were adopted by the New York assembly. Upwards of eleven thousand pounds was appropriated for strengthening the fortifications of New York and Albany, and purchasing presents for the Six Nations. But more wisdom, vigor, and public spirit, than directed the provincial councils, were wanting to provide measures adequate to counteract the encroaching policy pursued by the French.

Governor Cosby continuing to supply additional cause of complaint by the insolence of his manners and the iniquity of his policy, the instrumentality of the press was employed by his opponents to inflame and propagate the resentment and jealousy which his conduct was fitted to inspire. Lewis Morris and Rip Van Dam having severally published appeals to their countrymen against his treatment of them, the success of this proceeding in animating the public indignation suggested to Zenger, a printer, the establishment of a newspaper, which he entitled *The New York Weekly Journal*, and which attracted universal attention by the boldness and freedom of its strictures on the conduct of public affairs. Cosby, provoked

by an article in this journal, which contained a severe philippic on his administration, and openly declared that public liberty was endangered by his arbitrary principles and deportment, prevailed with a majority of the council to request the concurrence of the assembly in a mandate that the offensive publication should be burned in the market-place by the hands of the city hangman. The assembly having refused to comply with this request, the governor and council of themselves issued a mandate for burning the paper, which they required the executioner to perform, and the mayor and aldermen of New York personally to superintend. These magistrates declined to take part in the absurd pageant devised for the gratification of tyrannical spleen; and as even the executioner refused his presence or aid at the ceremony, it was performed by a negro slave of the sheriff amidst universal contempt and derision. Incensed, rather than instructed, by this demonstration of public feeling, Cosby and his council, assembling on the following Sunday, issued a warrant for the apprehension and imprisonment of Zenger. This proceeding was resented alike by the friends of liberty and religion, as at once an arbitrary stretch of power, and a wanton violation of the sanctity of the day. Finding it impossible either to subdue Zenger's spirit or to detain him in perpetual captivity, the governor determined to bring him to trial on a charge of libel; and the grand jury refusing to give their sanction to this charge, he directed Bradley, the attorney-general, to exhibit it in the shape of an *ex officio* information. Chambers and Smith, two lawyers of New York, who were retained by Zenger, had the courage to dispute the validity of the commissions of the judges, De Lancey and Philipse, which were granted by the governor without the approbation of the council. The judges overruled this plea; and, resenting it as a contempt of their dignity, punished its authors by a sentence which excluded them from farther exercise of their professional functions.

In this extremity, Zenger besought the aid of the most distinguished lawyer in America, Andrew Hamilton, of Philadelphia, who was for many years speaker of the assembly of Pennsylvania, and both at the bar and in the senate gained a high renown for sound learning, eloquence, integrity, and pub-

lic spirit. Though now bending under the weight of years and infirmities, Hamilton cheerfully obeyed the summons to make a last exertion of his talents in behalf of American liberty ; and, repairing to New-York, undertook gratuitously the defence of Zenger, who, after an imprisonment of eight months, was at length brought to trial before the judges, De Lancey and Philipse, and a jury, which, in spite of the governor's artifices, was selected with tolerable impartiality. The court and all its avenues were thronged with spectators, who, with generous interest and anxious expectation, awaited the issue of this notable struggle between their arbitrary ruler and their persecuted fellow-citizen. The attorney-general was preparing to adduce witnesses to show that Zenger was the publisher of the paper for which he was called in question, when Hamilton at once admitted this fact on the part of his client, and challenged the prosecutor to substantiate his charge of libel by proving the falsehood of the statements to which this epithet was applied. This the attorney-general having declined to do, Hamilton proposed to call witnesses to prove that the statements and strictures published by Zenger were true and well founded. But the court refused to entertain any such inquiry ; pronouncing, in conformity with the maxims of many English judges, that, in cases of libel, it was perfectly immaterial whether the offensive publication contained truth or falsehood, and that *truth was a libel* when it tended to the discredit of the members or institutions of government. This doctrine was disputed by Hamilton, who observed that the attorney-general had stated in his information that Zenger was the author of "a certain *false*, malicious, seditious, and scandalous libel" ; and requested of him that he would either explain the meaning of the word *false*, or admit that it had been erroneously introduced into the information, and suffer the record to be altered so far as to express that Zenger was the author of "a certain *true*, malicious, and seditious libel." He cited an English case in which Chief-Justice Holt required a person accused of libel to prove the truth of his statements, if he could. But the attorney-general supported his arguments by precedents of a different complexion, derived from the practice of the famous Star-chamber tribunal ; and the court reiterated the maxim, that

the truth of a libel could never be pleaded as a defence for the publication of it. Hamilton then addressed the jury in a speech at once elegant, forcible, and ingenious ; and, with a boldness and freedom of appeal to the principles of universal sense and reason, unparalleled till many years after in the forensic eloquence of England, contended for the inviolable right of free-men to publish to their fellow-citizens every truth that concerned the general weal, and every grievance by which their common birthright of liberty was impaired or invaded.

It was doubtless true, he remarked, that the American governors were liable to be sued in the king's courts at Westminster in England for any wrongs that they might commit in the colonies ; but the expense of the remedy rendered it generally, if not universally, inapplicable ; and the public security against the designs of an evil governor was best promoted by the vigilance awakened by an open promulgation of the particular instances of his conduct from which such designs might be fairly inferred. It was impossible, he protested, that a jury of free and honest men would, by a verdict of guilty, affirm that charge of *falsehood* which was recorded in the information, but which the prosecutor would neither undertake to prove nor suffer the accused to disprove. In the hope of defeating the force of this argument, the chief justice recommended to the jury that they should return a special verdict, which would exonerate them from a disagreeable responsibility, and leave the question of libel to the court, to whom, he assured them, it properly belonged ; yet, withal, he declared that the publication, as tending to beget an ill opinion of the government, was undoubtedly a libel. But Hamilton had cautioned the jury not to compromise their duty by giving a special verdict ; and, after a very brief deliberation, they returned a general verdict of not guilty, which was instantly affirmed and rewarded by the approving and triumphant acclamations of their fellow-citizens. Hamilton's speech on this occasion was published and circulated through all the American provinces ; and the corporation of New York expressed their esteem for his character and the grateful sense they entertained of his services, by presenting him with the freedom of the city in a gold box on which the most flattering inscriptions were engraven.

The issue of Zenger's trial was very disagreeable to the partisans of royal prerogative in England and America, and was regarded by them as a dangerous triumph of popular reason and will over the authority of judicial canons and forensic pedantry.¹ Cosby's insolence sustained no abatement from his defeat; but his administration was abruptly terminated by his death in the following year. [1736.] The government of the province was now confided to George Clarke, whose character was little, if at all, more respectable than that of his predecessor,² and whose administration was chiefly signalized by a scheme of which the projection would have entitled him to considerable praise, if its miscarriage had not reflected disgrace on his good faith and integrity. Sensible of the error which had been committed by the provincial government, in suffering the French to build a fort at Crown Point, he deduced a project for repairing this negligence from the recent example of the trustees of Georgia, and conceived the hope of engaging a body of Scottish Highlanders to emigrate to the province and establish a settlement in the frontier territory adjacent to Lake George. A proclamation, containing the most liberal and inviting offers to Highlanders willing to undertake the occupation and culture of this district, was accordingly published at New York, and transmitted to Scotland. This overture attracted the attention of Captain Lachlan Campbell, a Scottish gentleman, brave, honorable, enterprising, and possessed of a considerable estate in the island of Isla; who forthwith repaired to New York, and inspected the territory which was tendered to emigrants from his native country. [1737.] His journey proved no less satisfactory to himself than to the neighbouring Indians, who were greatly captivated by his Highland garb, and earnestly entreated him to

¹ Some remarks on Zenger's trial were published by a learned Tory lawyer in America, who pronounced Hamilton's speech a piece of legal quackery, and the Star-chamber tribunal one of the most useful and beneficial institutions that ever existed in England. This production is reprinted in Howell's *State Trials*.

² "It unfortunately happened for our American provinces, at the time we now treat of, that a government in any of our colonies in those parts was scarcely looked upon in any other light than that of a hospital where the favorites of the ministry might lie till they had recovered their broken fortunes; and oftentimes they served as asylums from their creditors." Wynne. Pope sarcastically remarks the policy in conformity with which a courtier,

"Who, having lost his credit, pawned his rent,
Is therefore fit to have a government."

transplant his tribe to their vicinity. Governor Clarke gave him assurance of a grant of thirty thousand acres of land free from all charges except the expense of survey and the king's quitrent. Confiding in this assurance, Campbell returned to Scotland, sold his paternal estate, and shortly after transported, at his own expense, to New York, eighty-three Highland families, consisting of four hundred and twenty-three adults and a great number of children. But his hopes were miserably disappointed. The contract on which he thus staked his fortune, and which the public faith was pledged to fulfil, was violated with the most scandalous disregard of honor, justice, and good policy. When he applied for the stipulated grant of land, he was required to admit certain friends or dependents of the governor to share in the profits which he might derive from it ; and indignantly spurning this rapacious and dishonorable condition, he found all his efforts to procure the completion of the grant ineffectual. Neither from the provincial assembly, nor from the English Board of Trade, was he able to obtain redress ; and, after a tedious solicitation, he found it necessary, for the sake of preserving to his family a remnant of his shattered fortune, to abandon the care of his followers, and cultivate a small farm which he purchased in the province. Clarke was permitted to retain the government of New York till the year 1741, when he was succeeded by George Clinton, uncle to the Earl of Lincoln.¹

None of the colonies had of late years enjoyed more contentment, repose, and prosperity, than Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New Jersey, — whose history, exhibiting nothing more prominent than the progress of industry and population, presents a picture neither varnished by glory nor sullied by misery or crime. [1738.] No palaces arose there to illustrate the fine conceptions of architectural taste and genius, or to proclaim the depression of the great mass of society in subservience to the exaltation of a small portion or class of its

¹ Oldmixon. W. Smith. S. Smith. Howell's *State Trials*. Proud. Wynne. The historical narration of W. Smith stops at the commencement of Cosby's administration. A continuation, which he is supposed to have written, has never yet appeared. He declares that no prudent annalist of his own times can suffer such a composition to be made public till after his death. Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Polybius, and other great writers, thought otherwise.

members ; no wars afforded scope for the exercise of heroic valor, or sanctioned the indulgence of hatred and ferocity ; and no political dissensions invited the display of public spirit, or generated party rage and factious intrigue. But if these scenes are barren of events that agitate the passions, and disclose no partial accumulations of grandeur that strike the senses, they are yet adorned with features that gratify the survey of every mind seasoned with humanity and benevolence. There was a general diffusion of those circumstances which are most favorable to the worth and welfare of the bulk of mankind. Instead of that entertaining, though fallacious, chase of pleasure, so eagerly pursued in societies where leisure and affluence abound, and of which the most notable success is to enable human beings to pass their lives in idleness without wearying, — there was a composed possession of substantial felicity derived from the liberal reward of moderate labor, and the grateful vicissitude of useful action and well earned rest. The land was generally distributed among a great number of proprietors, in portions of such extent and value as afforded a mediocrity of condition fitted to produce strong bodies and sound minds. If few persons had leisure or opportunity to attain scientific or literary distinction, and few lasting monuments of genius arose, — there was a general prevalence of that degree of knowledge which is sufficient to expand and elevate thought, to invigorate the understanding, to enlarge happiness, and fortify virtue. The earth was subdued and replenished with a hardy and happy race of men, securely and thankfully reaping the bounty of Providence in the fruits of honest industry, animated by recollections of their national and natural origin, and accustomed by their popular institutions to deliberate on public affairs, to connect social prosperity with freedom, and to accomplish their purposes by the instrumentality of those political organs by which alone the collective strength of a numerous people can be effectually combined or safely and steadily exerted. The facility of attaining a plentiful estate, and the general simplicity of manners and equality of condition, excluded selfish rivalry and envy ; and, rendering celibacy rare, and marriage universally and remarkably prolific, operated with strong tendency to promote the worth of character and

the felicity of life. Sentiments of patriotism and independence were ardently cherished and widely diffused in a country where every man had a stake in the soil and the political institutions which united his proudest remembrance with his fondest hopes,¹ which represented his own or his parents' fortitude and success in surmounting difficulty, planting liberty, and subduing the earth, and assured a comfortable livelihood and honorable condition to his posterity. Every citizen was interested in the defence of a particular part of his country, and of a part which possessed the highest and noblest value in his estimation; and every one possessing himself a share of political right and power was interested, by regard to the security of his own portion, in resisting all invasion of the shares of his fellow-citizens. If the condition of these provinces offered little scope for romantic fancy or antiquarian retrospect, it presented to the mind a more generous gratification in the prospect of a wide and enlarging expanse of human happiness, liberty, and virtue.² Some ecclesiastical controversies arose during this period in Connecticut; but they were conducted without rancor, and their most notable effect was to stimulate religious

¹ "The sympathy existing among fellow-citizens, from the habit of living for each other and by each other, — of connecting every thing with the good of all, — produced in republics virtues which despotic states cannot even imagine." Sismondi's *History of the Italian Republics*.

² "A succession of New England villages, composed of neat houses surrounding neat schoolhouses and churches, adorned with gardens, meadows, and orchards, and exhibiting the universally easy circumstances of the inhabitants, is, in my opinion, one of the most delightful prospects which this world can afford. A forest changed, within a short period, into fruitful fields, covered with houses, schools, and churches, and filled with inhabitants, possessing not only the necessities and comforts, but also the conveniences of life, and devoted to the worship of Jehovah, when seen only in prophetic vision, enraptured even the mind of Isaiah; and, when realized, can hardly fail to delight that of a spectator. At least, it may compensate the want of ancient castles, ruined abbeys, and fine pictures." Dwight's *Travels*. "There is something to me in the sight of this independence, and the enjoyments by which it is accompanied, more interesting, more congenial to the relish of nature, than in all the melancholy grandeur of the decayed castles and mouldering abbeys with which some parts of Europe are so plentifully stocked." *Idem*.

Godwin, in his *Essay on Sepulchres*, maintains that America, destitute of ancient monuments of art, must be a very uninteresting country. An opposite impression has prevailed with another great modern genius; and the sentiment of Dwight, who never beheld Europe, is thus echoed by a writer who never beheld America:—"I feel that in America I should love modern cities and modern institutions. Nature and liberty there so fully engage the soul, that no need is felt of distant recollections. But in the old world we desiderate monuments of the past." Madame de Staël, *De L'Allemagne*.

inquiry, and to multiply settlements and townships by dividing congregations which had been previously united.

The war which broke out between Great Britain and Spain in 1739 extended to the American possessions of these nations. But it was in the southern British colonies that its chief influence was exerted; and in tracing the early history of Georgia, we have already remarked the share of loss and suffering that the operations of this war entailed upon the other provinces.

The prosperity enjoyed by New England was not confined to the States of Connecticut and Rhode Island. But in Massachusetts much embarrassment and injustice was occasioned by the excess and the depreciation of its paper currency; and between this province and New Hampshire there had prevailed for several years a territorial dispute, to the origin of which we have already alluded, and which in its progress excited much bitter and passionate feeling, and induced a wide departure from equity and moderation on both sides. The details of this controversy, now no longer interesting, have been preserved by the historians, Hutchinson and Belknap; and it is remarkable that each of these writers, respectively, bestows the severest blame on the province of which he is the historian. Massachusetts pretended right to a larger extent of territory than her charter strictly warranted, or at least there was room for a reasonable doubt that part of the territory embraced by her actual jurisdiction was more properly included in the original titles of New Hampshire; but her pretensions were sanctioned by an order of King Charles the Second and his privy council, in the year 1677, which for more than fifty years obtained undisputed acquiescence, and in conformity with which many townships and settlements were established by the people of Massachusetts in the particular district which New Hampshire now endeavoured to reclaim.

Confident in the justice of her cause, and resenting the claim of New Hampshire as the ungrateful and presumptuous aggression of a feeble neighbour whom she had repeatedly befriended, Massachusetts adhered pertinaciously to the farthest extent of her pretensions, and rejected all compromise with a haughtiness which the issue of the controversy gave her cause to re-

pent ; while New Hampshire, irritated by what she deemed the contumelious treatment of her powerful neighbour, and intoxicated with the hope of augmenting her resources and enabling herself to support a separate executive government, pursued her claims with an eagerness in which honor and integrity were sacrificed to success. After various discussions in England and surveys in America, the controversy was at length matured for the decision of the British privy council. To this tribunal the agent for New Hampshire presented a memorial, in which he not only fortified the plea of his constituents by the most ingenious fiction and the most enterprising hypothesis, but aided it more effectually by allying the cause of New Hampshire with the jealousy and prejudice which the British court was known to entertain against Massachusetts. The basest aspersions were thrown on the ambitious and disloyal designs of "*the vast, opulent, overgrown province of Massachusetts*"; while it was represented that "*the poor, little, loyal, distressed province of New Hampshire,*" together with the king's own property and possessions, was ready to be swallowed up by the boundless rapacity of a people whose insolence was nourished by the possession of a charter. [1740.] This pleading, reinforced by private solicitation and intrigue, proved successful, even beyond the hopes of the people of New Hampshire, who gained, from the adjudication of the privy council, not only all the territory that they had ever ventured to claim, but an additional tract of country of about fourteen miles in breadth and upwards of fifty in length. Great was the rage and mortification of the people of Massachusetts, when they were apprized of this decision ; but all their efforts to obtain a modification of it proved unavailing. They sustained a similar disappointment shortly after, from the issue of a territorial controversy with Rhode Island, which a compromise, ineffectually recommended by all the wise and moderate politicians of Massachusetts, might have happily prevented. The claim of Rhode Island to an insignificant territory, to which the legal pretensions of both States were equally plausible, being obstinately resisted by a majority of the Massachusetts assembly, the adjustment of the respective boundaries was referred to the British government, whose sentence again

divested Massachusetts of a much larger extent of territory than what gave rise to the dispute or was claimed by the other competitor.

In the controversy between Massachusetts and New Hampshire Governor Belcher had a difficult part to sustain. He was governor of both provinces ; and endeavouring to act with the impartiality which he professed, he exposed himself to the suspicion and hostility of the more violent partisans of either cause. In Massachusetts the number of his enemies was increased by his steady resistance to the various projects which were suggested from time to time for a fallacious mitigation of the inconvenience occasioned by the state of the currency. If not his own virtue, at least the profligacy of his opponents, may be inferred from the infamous means which were employed to subvert his authority. In the year 1738, an attempt was made to accomplish this purpose by reviving the calumnious charge which Dunbar once preferred against him, of having encouraged the rioters who obstructed the execution of the acts of parliament for preservation of pine-trees. A letter, professing to be written by five of the principal rioters, and avowing that their lawless proceedings had been secretly instigated by Belcher, was addressed to Sir Charles Wager, who commanded an English fleet stationed in the American seas, in the hope that he would privately convey this important information to the English ministry. But Wager, too honorable to abet a clandestine accusation, sent a copy of the letter to Belcher, who found no difficulty in proving that it was a forgery. Yet the detection of this villany was insufficient to deter his enemies from a repetition of it, or to prevent him from falling a victim to their insidious slander and intrigue within two years after. Anonymous letters were despatched from Massachusetts and New Hampshire to the leading Dissenters in Britain, professing to be the compositions of ministers of the Independent and Presbyterian churches in America, who were deterred from signing their names by apprehensions of Belcher's vengeance, and accusing him of conspiring, with the Episcopal clergy, the subversion of the Dissenting interest in New England. Belcher had received a strict command from the king to disallow the farther issue of provincial bills

of credit for a term beyond the currency of those which had already been put in circulation, of which none extended beyond the year 1741.

As this period approached, a project was devised by a party of the money-jobbers and speculators in Massachusetts for evading the royal injunction, and maintaining a supply of paper money, by the establishment of a private *land bank* on a very extensive scale ; and in spite of the remonstrances of Belcher, which were seconded by all the wiser and more respectable portion of the community, this pernicious device was carried into effect in the year 1739. The country was presently deluged with the notes of this bank, for the circulation of which the most skilful and adventurous expedients of commercial artifice were adopted ; and so much mischief seemed likely to ensue, that the interposition of the British government was urgently solicited by some persons of consideration in Massachusetts, and an act of parliament was passed in the present year for suppressing the bank and preventing the formation of similar establishments. [1740.] Some of the partisans of the bank, who had incurred the displeasure of Belcher by their support of it, now joined the ranks and aided the intrigues of his enemies, and, with unexampled audacity of baseness and falsehood, accused him to the British government of having privately encouraged the banking schemes. The diligence of their machinations was quickened by the near approach of the period when all the current provincial bills of credit were to be withdrawn from circulation,—a measure which was regarded with general alarm, and which it was well known that Belcher was prepared to conduct with the most uncompromising strictness.

While the charges by which he was traduced were supported even by perjury, their efficacy was farther aided in some degree by his own rash reliance on the justice and discernment of the British court. Resting in the consciousness of his integrity, he was not sufficiently careful to approve his integrity to the judgment of those on whom his fortune depended. His conduct in office, ever since the discussion with regard to a fixed salary, was upright and disinterested in the highest degree. To his official duties he sacrificed a lucrative participation in

commerce ; he studied to promote the general interests of the British empire in America ; and in New England he zealously labored to reconcile a faithful service to the crown with an earnest and liberal regard to the freedom, happiness, and real advantage of the people. Confiding in his merit, he despised the malice of his enemies, and was wont to say, "I know, that, while such men beset the court, I can expect no favor ; but if the devil were there, I should expect justice under the British constitution, corroborated by the Hanover succession." The British ministers and the leading Dissenters in England were divided in opinion ; some lending credit to the charges against Belcher, and others supporting him with unshaken confidence and approbation. At length intrigue prevailed ; and Belcher was sacrificed, as Spottiswoode had previously been in Virginia, and Burnet at New York. It happened that Lord Euston, son of the Duke of Grafton, was a candidate for the honor of representing the city of Coventry in parliament. A rival candidate seeming likely to prevail, Maltby, a zealous Dissenter, who possessed great influence with the electors of Coventry, and rashly credited the assertion of Belcher's enemies, that he was conspiring to introduce a legal establishment of Episcopacy into New England, offered to the Duke of Grafton to secure Lord Euston's election, on condition that Belcher should be dismissed from his situation. The offer was accepted ; Belcher was immediately recalled ; and the government of Massachusetts was conferred on William Shirley, an English lawyer of respectable character and popular manners, whose capacity and temper evinced a rare concurrence of active and enterprising genius with good sense, address, and discretion. He possessed some interest at court, but had emigrated to Boston about eight years before, on account of the smallness of his fortune and the largeness of his family.

The people of New Hampshire, at the same time, obtained the gratification they so earnestly coveted, in the appointment of a separate governor for themselves ; this office being now bestowed on Benning Wentworth, a popular inhabitant of the province, and the son of one of its former lieutenant-governors. [1741.] These changes proved highly grateful to both

provinces. Wentworth's elevation was hailed by his fellow-citizens as "the deliverance of New Hampshire from contempt and dependence."¹ And Shirley, finding that the people of Massachusetts were not yet prepared to submit to the sacrifice of taxing themselves to pay off the bills of credit, ventured to gratify them by departing from his instructions, and permitting a reissue of those bills, accompanied with certain precautionary measures for preventing the fluctuation which their value was apt to incur, — an antidote which proved very slightly, if at all, efficacious. Whether as a politic device to procure this concession, or simply from a sense of right, the Massachusetts assembly had previously voted, that, so long as Shirley retained his office, his salary should never fall short of one thousand pounds sterling *per annum*. His administration proved remarkably free from domestic controversy and the collision of political parties, — an advantage due partly to his own prudence and moderation, and in no small degree to the deference he paid to the counsels of Colonel John Stoddard, a man highly distinguished by the depth of his genius, the weight and force of his character, and the veneration which he inspired in all classes of his fellow-citizens. Belcher, meanwhile, who was so unjustly displaced, repaired to London, where he exhibited the most convincing proofs of his honor and probity, and of the base intrigues to which he had been sacrificed. But, though his character was effectually vindicated, it was judged impracticable or inexpedient to restore him to office in New England. The ministers, however, promised, as some compensation for the unworthy treatment he had experienced, to confer on him another royal government in America ; and, in the year 1747, he was appointed governor of New Jersey, where he presided for ten years, and closed, with his life, a respected and happy administration. Both as an individual and a magistrate, he was ever distinguished by his ardent piety, and his generous zeal for the diffusion of knowledge and the promotion of virtue.²

¹ Yet so fickle and impatient are mankind, that, only a few years after, the people of New Hampshire, being dissatisfied with certain measures which the governor pursued in conformity with his instructions from the crown, and having vainly petitioned for his removal from office, "would gladly have dissolved the government, and put themselves under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, had it been in their power." Belknap.

² Douglass. Trumbull. Hutchinson. Belknap. S. Smith. Dwight's *Travels*. Eliot's *Biographical Dictionary of New England*.

Amidst the scene of controversy and intrigue by which Massachusetts was so much disturbed and dishonored, a great deal of happiness was enjoyed in this province, and a great deal of useful talent and of admirable piety and virtue exerted. Many excellent persons, representing the oldest and most considerable Puritan families, labored with pious and patriotic ardor to promote the worth and welfare of their fellow-citizens, and both honorably illustrated and successfully propagated by their example the virtues that characterized the fathers of New England. The most distinguished of those individuals was John Stoddard, whom we have already had occasion to name, and who, preëminent alike in wisdom, probity, and public spirit, received from the universal attribution of his contemporaries the title of *a great and good man*.¹ Among other fruits which manifested that the pristine qualities and sentiments of the people of Massachusetts were preserved from decay, the efforts that were made to impart civil improvement and religious instruction to the Indians deserve a lasting and honorable commemoration. In the year 1737, the legislature of Massachusetts granted to a troop of the Housatonic Indians a settlement in the western part of the province, which obtained the name of Stockbridge, and subsequently derived a considerable accession of Indian residents from the resort of converts to Christianity gained from a great variety of tribes by the labors of the provincial missionaries. At this settlement, the most assiduous endeavours were made by benevolent individuals, aided by the public funds of the provincial community, to instruct the Indians in useful knowledge, and to educate them in habits of virtue and civility.

The charitable enterprise was crowned with encouraging success; and, in addition to its happy effects upon a numerous and increasing Indian society at Stockbridge, contributed to revive the ardor of missionary zeal throughout New England, and to awaken the same spirit in other provincial communities which had hitherto been strangers to it. Now was seen, though on a smaller scale than had been anticipated by many sanguine and philanthropic promoters of American colonization, another instance of union and intercourse mutually happy and beneficial

¹ "After him," says Dwight, in Scriptural phrase, "men spake not again."

to the civilized and savage men who jointly occupied the territory of the New World,—an intercourse in which charity manifestly proved itself doubly blessed ; for the efforts of the colonists to communicate the benefits of their knowledge and superiority tended even more effectually to the improvement of their own faculties and character than to the advantage of the race to which their labors were devoted. This grand and glorious conception had not yet been realized in any other portion of the British dominions in America, except New England. The Pennsylvanian Quakers treated the Indians with mildness, equity, and forbearance, disarmed their jealousy by the display of implicit confidence, and gained their friendship by liberal presents and a courteous and affectionate address. But the only advantage (and doubtless a very great one) that resulted from this policy was the peaceful establishment of the colony of Pennsylvania,—without the derivation of any benefit, temporal or spiritual, to the Indian race from the vicinity of European arts and knowledge. The government of New York occasionally lavished caresses and subsidies on its savage neighbours ; but instead of attempting to alter, rather studied to promote, their roving and barbarous habits, for the purposes of commerce and of war. [1741.] New England alone had hitherto afforded the example of communities of men which steadily pursued the civil and religious improvement of the Indians as a part of their state policy, and of individual missionaries who willingly devoted their lives to this object.

The superintendence of the various measures and establishments undertaken by the people of Massachusetts for the benefit of the Indians was confided to a board denominated the Commissioners for Indian Affairs at Boston, whose pecuniary resources were derived partly from occasional grants by the provincial legislature, but chiefly from private and voluntary contributions of the colonists, aided by a religious society in Scotland. The first pastor appointed by these commissioners for the settlement at Stockbridge was John Sergeant, a native of New Jersey, and a man of excellent sense, learning, and piety, who enjoyed a ministry happy, honored, and successful, till his death in the year 1749. The highest expectations were

entertained of advantage to the establishment from his successor in the pastoral office, — the celebrated Jonathan Edwards, a native of Connecticut, and afterwards president of Princeton College, in New Jersey ; one of the greatest theologians and metaphysical writers of modern times, and no less distinguished among his contemporaries for the severe and awful sanctitude of his life, and his ardent zeal for the propagation of Christian knowledge and sentiment, than admired by posterity for the strength and depth of his understanding, and the grandeur, penetration, and comprehension of his genius.¹ The assumption of the pastoral care of Stockbridge by so eminent a personage was a circumstance not less honorable to himself than to the patrons of the settlement ; but the expectations that led to it were disappointed. Edwards was a man of recluse habits, contemplative disposition, and unpliant manners ; more fitted to elevate the wisdom of the learned by his writings, and animate the virtue of the pious by his example, than to instruct and train a coarse, illiterate, and miscellaneous society. By all wise and good men who enjoyed opportunities of familiar converse with him he was regarded with the warmest attachment and the most earnest veneration. But notwithstanding the denial of his friends and biographers, there is reason to conclude, both from various events of his life and from the tone of many passages in his writings, that his manners, though seasoned with that rarest of human qualities, a deep and genuine humility, and solemnly graceful and pleasing, where intimacy rendered him perfectly at ease, were, in general society, so much embarrassed by involuntary reserve and formality, as

¹ He is thus characterized by an American divine and poet : —

“From scenes obscure did Heaven its Edwards call,
That moral Newton, and that second Paul.
He, in clear view, saw sacred systems roll
Of reasoning worlds around their central soul ;
Saw love attractive every system bind,
The parent linking to each filial mind ;
The end of Heaven’s high works resistless showed,
Creating glory, and creating good.”

Dwight’s *Triumph of Infidelity*.

Edwards has at length found an editor and critical commentator worthy of him, in Foster, a clergyman of the church of England, author of *The Natural History of Enthusiasm*. Yet, with much admiring respect for Mr. Foster, I think that he has far better appreciated the personal holiness and wonderful genius of Edwards, than the religious utility of Edwards’s writings.

to convey the impression of an austere and ungracious disposition ; and that he was more plenteously endowed with sagacity to detect, and with zeal to demonstrate, the existence and inveteracy of human infirmity, than with that condescending indulgence and tender forbearance towards its victims, without which its correction is seldom, if ever, successfully undertaken. Considering the disadvantages under which he labored, it is no small praise to him, that, during the few years of his exercise of the functions of pastor at Stockbridge, the establishment did not decline. But neither did it advance ; and of this the explanation, if not the apology, may perhaps be derived from the fact, that, during his residence there, he composed that grand and recondite disquisition, which he afterwards published, on the *Freedom of Human Will*, — a work which has been variously regarded as a doctrinal composition, but which no intelligent reader has ever attentively perused without a sentiment of admiration and astonishment at the strength and stretch of the human understanding. It obtained, in particular, the admiring praise of David Hume and the philosophers of his school, who eagerly sought to enlist some of the reasoning of the Christian teachers in support of their own system of infidelity. After the removal of Edwards from this situation to the presidency of Princeton College,¹ the care of Stockbridge was committed to, and successfully undertaken by, an excellent man, the son and the worthy inheritor of the name of Sergeant, the first pastor of this settlement.

While the establishment at Stockbridge was still in its infancy, a number of New England ministers, selected and supported by the Commissioners for Indian Affairs at Boston, were pursuing missionary labors among various Indian tribes. [1742.] Of these the most distinguished was a young man named David Brainerd, a native of Connecticut, who, in compliance with the solicitations which his renowned zeal and piety attracted at once from Massachusetts, Connecticut, and

¹ He died there in 1758, and in the fifty-fifth year of his age. From his journals it appears that his researches extended to physical, as well as ethical science, and that he anticipated and prophesied those sublime investigations of the machinery of *Light*, subsequently accomplished by the genius of Herschell. He openly denounced the system of negro slavery, and urged the *immediate* manumission of all the slaves in America.

the Presbyterian ministers of New York and New Jersey, commenced in this year a brief but memorable career, unsurpassed in diligence and success since the apostolic era, and unequalled, perhaps, except by the labors of Eliot and Mayhew. Of the natural abilities of Brainerd it is difficult to form any distinct or satisfactory conception, — so much was their outward lustre eclipsed by the strong absorbing influence of feelings which continually prompted him to divest his discourse of the graces of fancy and eloquence, and to manifest Christian doctrine, sentiment, and character in the most unadorned and uncompounded simplicity. Some passages of his celebrated journal display great depth and force of thought ; but it was observed of him in general, that “ his discourse seemed to issue mainly from his heart ; and he rather talked religion than talked about it.” Throughout his short life he labored under a hypochondriacal malady, which clouded his soul with melancholy and dejection, but was never able to relax his diligence or shake his conviction of the certain, however invisible, fruit of his labors. With unwearied patience he pursued his missionary exertions among the various Indian tribes adjacent to the colonies of Connecticut, Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York. Driven from station to station by the opposition of some of his Indian auditors, which was frequently excited by the artifices, as well as promoted by the vicious example, of European traders who assumed the title of Christians, — at every place where he resided, he built with his own hands a dwelling-house for himself ; and, for the more effectual instruction of the savages, accommodated his style of life to a model of as much simplicity as was consistent with the civilized manners to which he desired to lead them. His success at length was astonishing, and was more especially manifested among the Indians of the Six Nations, who were peculiarly exposed to a counteracting influence both from the example of the European traders from New York, who resorted for commercial purposes among them, and from the intrigues of some of those traders, who regarded with fear and aversion every attempt to civilize or instruct the Indians. Solemn, yet affectionate, in his address ; humble, yet earnest and indefatigable ; filled with zeal and charity ; and indulgent

to every body except himself, — Brainerd excited among his auditors a mixture of tenderness and veneration ; and inducing numerous Indian converts to adopt the manners which he exemplified, as well as the faith which he inculcated, completely falsified the common theory, that mankind must be morally civilized before they can be religiously converted, — by demonstrating that Christian instruction is the most effectual and comprehensive instrument of civilization. Exhausted by constitutional disease, and by the intensity of his missionary toil, Brainerd died in the year 1747, while yet in the bloom of youth ; but, if temporal fame (which he was very far from affecting) may be permitted to mingle with our conceptions of the meed of such labors as his, he had first achieved a renown that amply compensated for the shortness of his life. The efficacy of his exertions was promoted and extended by the missionary operations which now began to proceed from the Moravian establishments that were formed in Pennsylvania.¹

During the administration of Governor Gordon, Pennsylvania enjoyed uninterrupted repose and prosperity. Internal dissensions were repressed by the prudence and moderation of the governor, aided by the concurrence of favorable circumstances, and not a little by the wise counsels, the popular virtues, and persuasive eloquence of Andrew Hamilton (whom we have already had occasion to notice), for many years speaker of the provincial assembly. Gordon, dying in 1736, was succeeded two years after by Thomas, a man of resolution and integrity, and whose administration at first gave universal satisfaction. The venerable Hamilton, on retiring from public life in 1739, expressed a generous exultation in contemplating the happy condition of his countrymen. With paternal solicitude, he reminded them that a state of liberty and harmony was no less a blessing than a virtue, and that the exercise of mutual charity and forbearance was essential to its preservation ; cautioning them to avoid the faction and animosity that had once disturbed their public councils, “ as a rock, which, if

¹ Douglass. W. Smith. Holmes. Hawksley's and Hopkins's *Memoirs of President Edwards*. Brainerd's *Journal*. Edwards's *Observations on the Life of Brainerd*. Dwight's *Travels*. Loskiel. See Note VII., at the end of the volume.

not escaped, the constitution of this province will, at some time or other, infallibly split upon." A still more distinguished actor on the stage of provincial politics, and afterwards in scenes of greater interest and renown, had recently appeared in the person of Benjamin Franklin, a native of Boston, but now a printer in Philadelphia, and since the year 1735 clerk to the assembly at Pennsylvania, and postmaster of the province ; — the last of which appointments he owed to the discernment of Colonel Spottiswoode, formerly governor of Virginia, and afterwards postmaster-general of America. His father was a soap-boiler and tallow-chandler in Massachusetts, whither he had emigrated on account of his Puritan principles, some years prior to the British Revolution. From his earliest youth, Franklin cherished a passion for reading, and for the achievement of *nature's chief masterpiece* (as it has been termed), the art of writing well. He enlarged his scanty access to books by the practice of the strictest temperance and economy ; and turned the narrowness of the literary field to which he was confined into an actual advantage, by the diligence with which he cultivated and appropriated the farthest extent of its resources. His amplitude of mind, united with his ceaseless industry, vigor, and dexterity, qualified him to advance the boundaries of science, and to embrace and conduct the most extended schemes of national policy ; yet his genius, not less pliant than powerful, could stoop to the humblest sphere of practical good, and regulate with admirable prudence and skill the economy of a city library, a provincial school, a tradesmen's club, or an insurance office. Industry and frugality were promoted among his townsmen by his personal example, and recommended throughout the province by the forcible and sagacious disquisitions which he composed and published. No man ever possessed in a higher degree the art of rendering the observations of science subservient to purposes of immediate practical utility. His writings are justly admired for a plain popularity and sinewy simplicity of style, for the easy vigor with which conceptions the most enlarged and profound are developed, for operative good sense and philanthropy, for humorous *Socratic* irony, and for the art of arguing *to the prudence and self-love* of mankind. His readers are constantly reminded of the bene-

fit that will result from minute frugality,¹ and taught to consider a parsimonious thrift not merely as a virtue of the highest order, but as the foundation of all that is honorable, upright, and praiseworthy in human conduct and behaviour. The accommodations of domestic life and the simplicity and efficacy of municipal institutions were improved by his inventive genius; and literary and philosophical establishments were founded and promoted by his ardor, authority, and address. In the year 1739, an influence still nobler and more benign was exerted on the Pennsylvanians by the ministry of George Whitefield, the pupil and associate of Wesley, who resided for some time in the province, and on subsequent occasions repeated his visits to it. "It was wonderful," says Franklin, who, in attesting Whitefield's success, was biased by no partiality for his doctrines, "to see the change soon made in the manners of our inhabitants. From being thoughtless or indifferent about religion, it seemed as if all the world were growing religious; so that one could not walk through the town in an evening, without hearing psalms sung in different families of every street."

But the state of repose which Pennsylvania had enjoyed for some time was now drawing to a close; and the plentiful confluence of strangers to this province, which attested and promoted its prosperity, prepared also the materials of internal discord and altercation. The Quakers still possessed the command of the assembly, and by their wealth and influence were enabled to engross the principal offices of government. A majority of the inhabitants, notwithstanding, belonged to other religious persuasions, and dissented so completely from the Quaker system of policy, especially in relation to the duty and legitimacy of provisions for national defence, that only a fit occasion was wanting to manifest the discordance of the views and opinions by which the colonists were divided. In all the other royal and proprietary governments of North America the duration of the representative assemblies was triennial or septennial.² In Pennsylvania it was annual; and the recom-

¹ See Note VIII., at the end of the volume.

² An act of the assembly of New York, in the year 1743, commences with the following preamble: — "Whereas, by an act passed in the first year of

mendation of this democratic peculiarity, together with the lenity of the provincial taxes, and the economical and even parsimonious principles which regulated the salaries of office and every other expenditure of public money, had attracted thither, among other emigrants, a great number of persons habituated to political deliberations, and eager to administer, as well as to enjoy, the institutions and policy of a popular government. The Pennsylvanian Quakers, as we have already seen, from a pretty early period regarded with uneasiness the increasing concourse of strangers differing from them in religious persuasion ; from which they apprehended a preponderance of other sentiments than theirs in the public councils, and finally, perhaps, an entire eradication of all that tincture of Quaker principle which they had infused into the provincial policy and administration. On one occasion, to which we have already adverted, they made an essay to obstruct the resort of such emigrants as a small tax was sufficient to repel ; — well aware of the facility with which industrious poverty could mount to a competent estate and the attainment of political franchises in Pennsylvania. The Quakers still formed the aristocracy of the country, and preserved their original ascendancy over the deliberations of the assembly ; but a jealousy had taken root, and continued silently to grow, between the Quaker, or, as it was now termed, *the old interest* in the province, and the younger, less weighty, but more crescent and vigorous party, that was formed by those planters who, disowning Quakerism as religious doctrine, submitted with reluctance to the imposition of its precepts and restrictions as municipal and political ordinances.

The efforts of wise and good men, more attached to the province than to any particular party, were successfully employed for some years to moderate this jealousy and repress its effusions ; but the war which broke forth between England and Spain, in 1739, contributed signally to enhance and develop its utmost virulence. The Quakers had strained their

the reign of his late Majesty, of glorious memory, parliaments in Great Britain may respectively have continuance for the term of seven years and no longer ; and whereas the general assembly of this, his Majesty's loyal colony, conceive it their duty, as it is their inclination, to copy after so wise an example," &c. *Laws of New York.*

pacific principles as far, at least, as the cover of a decent veil could extend, in order to reconcile their retention of political power with their submission to the military views and requisitions of the parent state. We have seen them refuse to give money which was expressly demanded for warlike purposes, and yet part with it immediately after, under the cover of a *present* to the king, — for whose misuse of the instrument thus confided to his hands they reckoned themselves by no means responsible, as being totally unable, in the blindness of their innocence, to conjecture. In the conclusion of the last war, after a long and stubborn contest in the assembly, a portion of the public funds was expressly appropriated to the construction of a redoubt for the protection of the shipping of Philadelphia against hostile privateers ; and some vessels belonging to Quakers having been captured while the redoubt was building, it was remarked that several members of the Quaker society were particularly active in forwarding its completion, and procuring the establishment of a subsidiary magazine of gunpowder. This conduct certainly contributed neither to promote the prevalence of Quaker theory, nor to reconcile the other inhabitants of Pennsylvania to its ostentatious predominance, united with its practical dereliction. Governor Thomas, who was a stranger to the refinements of casuistry, gave high offence to the predominant party in the assembly, by strongly recommending the enactment of a law for embodying a provincial militia, and by encouraging, meanwhile, the enlistment of poor European emigrants who had been transported to the province as indented servants of the more wealthy planters. After long debates, the assembly refused to sanction the proposed militia law ; and having warmly complained of the practice of enlisting indented servants, voted an ample indemnification to all the colonists whose servants were thus withdrawn from them.

This result excited a great deal of disgust in the minds of all the Pennsylvanians who were not votaries of Quakerism ; and, from the struggle that arose between the two parties to increase their political power, the elections to the assembly, in the present year, were disgraced by much tumult and violence. It is asserted by a Quaker historian, and seems consistent with prob-

ability, that, in this competition between superior wealth and numerical strength, it was the party to which the latter distinction belonged that promoted tumultuary and riotous proceedings. So greatly were the Quakers now outnumbered by the dissenters from Quakerism, that the continued legislative ascendancy of the *old interest* was maintained by the mixed influence of the wealth of its representatives, their general respectability, a tolerable degree of union among themselves, and a habitual deference entertained by many persons for their long prevalent authority, — added to the national and sectarian varieties by which the other inhabitants were divided. The governor vainly endeavoured to alter the determination expressed by the majority of the provincial assembly, and displaced from office a number of magistrates who particularly distinguished themselves by opposition to his wishes.¹ Finding, however, that the assembly was inflexible, he addressed himself to the inhabitants at large ; and, assisted by the powerful pen of Franklin, who heartily espoused his views, urged the people to take arms and form themselves into regiments for the defence and security of their country. Several of the Quakers themselves openly asserted the lawfulness of defensive war ; and when, in compliance with the governor's recommendations, the project of forming provincial regiments and purchasing artillery was discussed in various commercial societies of the inhabitants, a considerable number of the Quaker members of these societies absented themselves from the debate, and privately encouraged their less scrupulous associates to apply the common funds to the support of a provincial armament.² The wishes of the governor and

¹ One of these magistrates was John Wright, a zealous and eminent Quaker, who, on surrendering his magisterial functions, addressed the grand jury of the county to which he belonged in an oration of considerable length, which has been preserved by the historian Proud. In this speech he rather incorrectly ascribed his dismissal from office not to his defence of Quaker principles, but to his zeal for "the system of English liberty," — a system which he recommended to the esteem of his auditors, in strains alike unsuitable to his circumstances and his principles, by reminding them of "the blood and treasure which have been spent in defence of it." Thus simply and beautifully he closed the discourse : — "And now, to conclude, I take my leave in the words of a judge in Israel: *Here I am, witness against me. Whom have I defrauded? whom have I oppressed? or of whose hands have I received any bribe, to blind my eyes therewith? and I will restore it.* May the Prince of Peace, who is the King of kings, protect the people of this province from domestic foes and foreign enemies! is my heart's desire. And so I bid you all farewell."

² "I estimated the proportion of Quakers *sincerely against defence* as one to

the arguments of Franklin were so cordially seconded by the spirit of the great bulk of the people, that ultimately a provincial militia¹ was embodied and supported by an act of popular will directly opposed to the sentiments and declarations of the provincial legislature. [1743.] There was thus exhibited in Pennsylvania the extraordinary spectacle of a martial force assembled for the protection of the state, without the consent of the legislature ; of a government defended by a military establishment which it disowned and professed to disapprove.

This state of matters could not endure for many years in a province of the British empire, and manifestly betokened the decline and fall of the political predominance of Quakerism in Pennsylvania. The covert accession to war, which had already been repeatedly extorted from the Quakers, might have convinced them of the impossibility of reconciling the purity of their sectarian principles with the administration of political power in a mixed society ; and in the example of the Moravians, who were now established in considerable numbers in the province, and who, professing the same mild and pacific tenets with the Quakers, forbore to discredit them by employing negro slaves, or to endanger them by arrogating power or control beyond the bounds of their own religious society, they might have beheld a more genuine portraiture of practical Quakerism than was ever before represented in Pennsylvania.

The quiet of the province was about this time still farther disturbed by a series of disputes between the colonists and Thomas Penn, the youngest of the proprietaries, who acquired soon after, by the death of his brother John, the principal share of the proprietary dignity and interest ; and whose selfish policy and ungracious manners were resented (says the historian Proud) with a disproportioned warmth of animosity, which tended rather to harden than to correct the illiberality of his disposition. How

twenty-one only." Franklin. It was the opinion of Franklin, that the American Quakers in general were deterred from openly sanctioning defensive war only by a punctilious hesitation to renounce opinions that had been published by the founders of Quakerism. In the writings of various American Quakers it is acknowledged that the majority of their society were desirous of avoiding all discussion of this subject, and willing, under color of taxation for municipal purposes, to contribute to the support of a military establishment.

¹ Franklin was elected colonel of the Philadelphia regiment ; but he declined this honor, and served as a private soldier.

far this writer — not a little perplexed, as he frequently appears to be, between his attachment to the Quakers and his reverence for the family of Penn — meant to include in his censure the Quaker colonists of Pennsylvania cannot now be ascertained ; though a strong inference that the Quakers had especially incurred the proprietary's resentment may be derived from the fact, that they were shortly after excluded from every office connected with the administration of his interest and authority.

Another cause of uneasiness, which, though generally disregarded by the inhabitants of Pennsylvania, yet excited the apprehensions of reflective men, was supplied by the manifest alteration that had taken place in the sentiments with which the colonists and the provincial government were regarded by the Indians. Some partisans of the Quakers, in alluding to this circumstance, have more eagerly than successfully attempted an explanation of it redounding to the credit of those sectaries, by connecting it with the undeniable facts, that the Indians, among other complaints, asserted that they were unjustly deprived of lands which had never been fairly purchased from them ; that no such acquisitions were or could be made, except by the agents of the proprietary ; and that the Quakers about this time were excluded from all share in that agency. The explanatory plea, so flattering to the Quakers, which is inferred from these considerations, though exaggerated in its application, is entitled to some respect : for, though the Quakers were by no means entirely blameless in their intercourse with the Indians, yet, undoubtedly, they succeeded in gaining their good-will more effectually than any other class of the Pennsylvanian colonists, before the arrival of the Moravians. But, for a long series of years, a number of circumstances, less consistent with the claims of the Quakers to exclusive or superior virtue, had contributed to create and increase alienation between the Indians and the people of this province. It is admitted, even by Quaker writers, that, for several years prior to this period, the Indian tribes were treated with a neglect¹ which they natu-

¹ This neglect may be in part referred to circumstances which Franklin has detailed in his *Historical Review of the Constitution of Pennsylvania*. The colonists had become impatient of the frequent treaties with the Indians, which were chiefly intended to promote the interest of the proprietaries. On these occasions, presents derived from provincial taxes, to which the proprietaries

rally contrasted with the civilities and largesses of the emissaries despatched among them by the French ; who urged them to consider if their total annihilation was not manifestly portended by the rapid advances of every English colony, and might not be averted by the friendship and assistance of France. The agents of the French protested that this people sought for nothing but advantageous commercial stations in America, and, without desiring to enlarge their settlements, were willing to depend for subsistence principally on supplies derived from their own parent state. But the most serious complaint preferred by the Indians, was directed against the abuse and iniquity of the commerce between the two races of people. We have seen, that, at a very early period, even William Penn found it impossible to obtain from an assembly, of which a great majority were professed Quakers, any salutary regulation of the traffic between the colonists and the Indians ; and it will the less move our wonder to find that little regard was paid to a message of Governor Thomas to the Pennsylvanian assembly, in the year 1744,¹ declaratory of his apprehension, that the manner in which the Indian trade was ordinarily conducted would speedily involve the colonists "in some fatal quarrel with the Indians." The likelihood of such a quarrel was increased by the increasing prevalence of inebriety among the Indians ; by the sordid eagerness with which the provincial traders ministered to this pernicious habit, and promoted its indulgence ; and by the fixed resentment with which reflection and experience taught the Indians to regard the insidious temptation they were unable to resist, but the effect of which they plainly perceived was to render their property the prey of the most unequal bargains, and to propagate diseases among them by which their bodies were debilitated and their lives abridged.² It would have

did not contribute, were made to the Indians, who, in return, renewed their ancient protestations of friendship to the colonists, and made additional grants of land, which were added to the estates of the proprietaries.

¹ This year, Arthur Dobbs, of New England, who had promoted various enterprises for the discovery of a north-west passage to India, made another attempt for the same purpose, in which he was aided by several noblemen and persons of distinction in England. As an encouragement to such adventures, the British parliament offered a reward of twenty thousand pounds to the persons who might first accomplish this discovery. Holmes.

² Though the Indians expressed much disapprobation of the conduct of those who furnished them with ardent spirits, they were not the less exasperated

been very difficult for the Pennsylvanian assembly to provide an entire and adequate remedy of the abuses of the Indian trade. Unfortunately, a just sense of the danger and the moral turpitude of these abuses was wanting in this body, and the remedial measures which it occasionally adopted were feeble, partial, and totally inefficient. An additional circumstance, differently related by different writers, served to inflame the animosity between the European and the aboriginal occupants of Pennsylvania. A chief of the Delaware Indians, having killed, either maliciously or accidentally, a colonist of New Jersey, to whom he had been attached by the strongest bonds of private friendship, lamented the unhappy deed with a passionate warmth of self-reproach, which, justly or erroneously, was interpreted into a confession of premeditated guilt. In spite of the remonstrances of the Indians, the guilty or unfortunate chief was capitally punished by the sentence of a New Jersey judicature, which the Indians in general exclaimed against as an act of deliberate murder, and a heinous affront to their race; and for which they continually, but ineffectually, demanded atonement from the governments of New Jersey and Pennsylvania.¹

The war that had prevailed for several years between Britain

when this fatal commodity was withheld from them. Of this an instance occurs in Franklin's account of a treaty with the Indians, which he and other commissioners were deputed to conduct by the Pennsylvanian assembly. "The Great Spirit," said one of the Indian orators, "who made all things, made every thing for some use; and whatever use he designed any thing for, that use it should always be put to. Now, when he made rum, he said, *Let it be for the Indians to get drunk with*; and it must be so." "Indeed," Franklin adds, "if it be the design of Providence to extirpate these savages, in order to make room for the cultivators of the earth, it seems not impossible that rum may be the appointed means." Franklin's *Memoirs*.

¹ S. Smith. *History of New Jersey*. Proud. Franklin's *Memoirs*. Kalm's *Travels*. Loskiel. Proud's historical narrative terminates at this epoch. The remainder of his work contains nothing farther than a catalogue of governors, and a statistical account of Pennsylvania prior to the year 1770. It would have been impossible for him to relate the disputes that ensued between the proprietaries and the colonists in a manner satisfactory to all his predilections. The American Revolution was a subject no less perplexing to him. Some allusions to this great struggle occur in the close of his work, and plainly prove that the principles of the Quaker prevailed with him over the sentiments of the patriot. He denounces the revolt of the colonists as one of those convulsive maladies which a plethora of happiness is apt to generate in collective life; and predicts that its result will be the downfall of virtue, happiness, and liberty in America. His work, though composed during the Revolutionary War, was not published till 1797; and yet he suffered these expressions to remain uncanceled. In his preface, which bears the date of 1797, no allusion is made to the patriots of the Revolution; and none but Quakers are commemorated as benefactors of Pennsylvania.

and Spain inflicted upon the greater number of the British provinces of America no farther share of its evils than the burden of contributing to the expeditions of Admiral Vernon, and the waste of life by which his disastrous naval campaigns were signalized. Only South Carolina and Georgia had been exposed to actual attack and danger. But this year, by an enlargement of the hostile relations of the parent state, the scene of war was extended to the more northern provinces. The French, though professing peace with Britain, had repeatedly given assistance to Spain; while the British king, as Elector of Hanover, had espoused the quarrel of the emperor of Germany with the French monarch: and after various mutual threats and demonstrations of hostility that consequently ensued between Britain and France, war was now formally declared by these states against each other. The French colonists in America, having been apprized of this event before it was known in New England, were tempted to improve the advantage of their prior intelligence by an instant and unexpected commencement of hostilities, which accordingly broke forth without notice or delay in the quarter of Nova Scotia. This province had been alternately claimed and possessed by the English and French for more than a century. Since the peace of Utrecht, it had acknowledged subjection to the crown of Britain; and the French inhabitants, devoted to the interests of France, and implicitly directed by their priests, who exercised a sort of patriarchal government over them, were yet retained in submission, partly by the dread of seeing the dikes destroyed which they had erected to prevent the sea from overflowing their fields, and partly by a British garrison at Annapolis, where a governor and council resided. The Indian tribes that inhabited the territory maintained their native independence, though they were attached to the French by the ties of common faith, as well as by ancient friendship and connection. On the island of Canso, adjoining the coast of Nova Scotia, the British had formed a settlement, which was resorted to by the fishermen of New England, and defended by a small fortification garrisoned by a detachment of troops from Annapolis. The island of Cape Breton was possessed by the French, and lay between the settlements of the English in Canso and Newfoundland.

There was manifest danger and impolicy in such intermixture and relative position of the settlements of rival nations, who had long disgraced their superior genius and civilization by cherishing the barbarous and impious notion that they were *the natural enemies* of each other. Their close vicinity in this quarter of America was rendered the more dangerous by the keen competition that prevailed between them for the appropriation of the principal share in the adjacent fisheries. Duquesnel, the governor of Cape Breton, on receiving intelligence of the declaration of war between the two parent states, conceived the hope of destroying the fishing establishments of the English by the suddenness and vigor of an unexpected attack. His first blow, which was aimed at Canso, proved successful. [May 13, 1744.] Duvivier, whom he despatched from his head-quarters at Louisburg, with a few armed vessels and a force of nine hundred men, took unresisted possession of this island, burned the fort and houses, and made prisoners of the garrison and inhabitants. This success Duquesnel endeavoured to follow up by the conquest of Placentia in Newfoundland, and of Annapolis in Nova Scotia; but at both these places his forces were repulsed. In the attack of Annapolis, the French were joined by the Indians of Nova Scotia; but the prudent forecast of Shirley, the governor of Massachusetts, had induced the assembly of this province, some time before, to contribute a reinforcement of two hundred men for the greater security of the garrison of Annapolis; and to the opportune arrival of the succour thus afforded the preservation of the place was ascribed.

The conduct of the French exposed them, and most justly, to the charge of rashness and precipitation. By the impetuosity of their commencement, and the extensive scheme of operations which they attempted to pursue, while yet unprepared with a force nearly adequate to sustain it, they prematurely disclosed designs calculated to awaken the utmost alarm in New England, and to rouse this powerful and provoked rival to a proportioned stretch and vigor of hostile reaction, which her condition and resources were much better fitted to support. In effect, the people of New England were stimulated to a pitch of resentment, apprehension, and martial energy, that

very shortly produced an effort of which neither their friends nor their enemies had supposed them to be capable, and which excited the admiration of both Europe and America. Measures were promptly adopted, in the first instance, by the governments of Massachusetts and New Hampshire to guard their frontiers from the expected incursions of the French and of the Indian allies of France in Canada. War was declared against the Indians of Nova Scotia, who had assisted in the attack upon Annapolis; all the frontier garrisons were reinforced; new forts were erected; and the materials of defence were enlarged by a seasonable gift of artillery from the king. Meanwhile, though the French were not prepared to prosecute the extensive plan of conquest which their first operations announced, their privateers actively waged a harassing naval warfare that greatly endamaged the commerce of New England. The British fisheries on the coast of Nova Scotia were interrupted; the fishermen declared their intention of returning no more to their wonted stations on that coast; and so many merchant-vessels were captured and carried into Louisburg in the course of this summer, that it was expected that in the following year no branch of maritime trade would be pursued by the New England merchants, except under the protection of convoy.

Aroused by circumstances and prospects so fraught with injury and menace, the national genius of New England began fully to awaken; and that determined, adventurous, and yet deliberate spirit by which the first colonists of this region were distinguished was now developed among their descendants with an ardor and lustre worthy of their lineage. In the close of this year, it was the general sentiment of the people of Massachusetts that *Louisburg must be subdued*; but there prevailed at first almost as generally the impression that the united force of all the British colonies was inadequate to an undertaking of so much magnitude and difficulty, without assistance from the parent state. The town of Louisburg was built by the French on the island of Cape Breton, soon after the peace of Utrecht. It was designed for the security of the French shipping and fisheries, and fortified with a rampart of stone thirty-six feet in height, and a ditch eighty feet in width.

There were six bastions and three batteries, containing embrasures for one hundred and forty-eight pieces of cannon, of which sixty-five were mounted, and sixteen mortars. On an island at the entrance of the harbour was planted a battery of thirty cannons carrying shot of the weight of twenty-eight pounds ; and at the bottom of the harbour, directly opposite to the entrance, was the grand or royal battery, containing twenty-eight cannons that carried balls of forty-two pounds, and two of smaller dimensions. The entrance of the town, on the land side, was at the west gate, across a drawbridge, near to which was a circular battery, mounting sixteen guns that carried shot of twenty-four pounds. Twenty-five years had been spent in building these works, which, though still uncompleted, had cost France at least thirty millions of livres. The place was deemed so strong as to be impregnable except by blockade, and was styled by some *the Dunkirk*, and by others *the Gibraltar of America*. In peace, it afforded a safe and convenient retreat for the ships of France homeward bound from the East and West Indies ; and in war, it formed a source of distress and annoyance to the northern English colonies, by harbouring the numerous privateers which infested their coasts for the destruction of their fishery and the interruption of their general commerce. It manifestly tended, besides, to facilitate the reacquisition of Nova Scotia by France, — an event which would cause an instant and formidable increase in the numerical strength of the enemies of the British crown and people. The reduction of Louisburg was, for these reasons, an object of ardent desire and of the highest importance to New England.

In the autumn of this year, Governor Shirley of Massachusetts, impressed with the interest and eager to second the wish and spirit of his people, addressed himself to the British ministry, soliciting assistance for the preservation of Nova Scotia and the acquisition of Cape Breton. But before any answer was returned to his application, the rising ardor of the colonists and the spirited counsels of some leading characters among them, with whom he was wont to advise, inspired his genius with the design of attempting this important conquest with the forces of New England alone. In the commencement of winter, a bold surmise began to circulate and be rumored in Mas-

sachusetts, that Louisburg, however strongly fortified, might now be surprised and taken by a sudden attack, of which the efficacy would be aided by the severity of the season. This effusion of popular spirit, though entirely disregarded by many sensible and considerate persons, did not escape the more sagacious appreciation of Shirley and others, by whom it was justly recognized as the indication of that heroic confidence which prognosticates as well as presupposes victory, — facilitating the achievement of the purposes which it inspires, and enlarging the limits of prudence and possibility to the resolute and the brave. Various individuals have been particularized as candidates for the honor of having first suggested to Shirley a plan for the immediate attack of Louisburg, or at least afforded him the earliest aid in composing and maturing it. Among the persons with whom he took counsel on this subject were Benning Wentworth, the governor of New Hampshire, who, entertaining a high opinion of Shirley's honor and capacity, was implicitly guided by his directions in the administration of his own provincial command; and William Vaughan, the son of a former lieutenant-governor of the same province, a man remarkably daring in his temper, and no less tenacious of his purpose, and whose zealous patriotism on this occasion made amends for the errors of his father, and restored the lustre of an honorable name. Shirley, aided by the partners of his counsels, made the most diligent inquiries of all persons who had ever been at Louisburg, either as traders or as prisoners, respecting the actual condition of the garrison and fortifications, the usual periods of the arrival of supplies from Europe, and the practicability of cruising off the harbour; and received such information as encouraged the hope, that, even if an attempt to surprise the place should prove abortive, it would be compelled to yield to the continued onset of a vigorous siege, before reinforcements could arrive from France.

Among other circumstances propitious to a speedy attack, Duquesnel, the governor of Cape Breton, unexpectedly died, and was succeeded by Duchambon, an aged officer of inferior and very narrow capacity; Duvivier, a man of spirit and activity, had sailed for Europe; and some New England colonists, recently liberated from captivity at Louisburg, reported

that the object of his voyage was to solicit immediate succour from France, and that the stores of the garrison, meanwhile, were scanty, the troops discontented and mutinous, and the works in some places mouldering and decayed. Animated by the result of their inquiries, Shirley and his friends proceeded with vigor and secrecy to frame the plan of an expedition ; in conformity with which a land force of four thousand men was to be conveyed in small transports to Canso, and thence, on the first favorable opportunity, to advance to Chapeau-rouge Bay, with cannon, mortars, and all the stores and ammunition requisite for a siege ; while, to prevent the arrival of supplies to the hostile garrison, sundry vessels were to cruise off the harbour of Louisburg as soon as the state of the season would permit. An estimate was made of all the naval force that could be collected in Massachusetts and the neighbouring colonies ; and though the armed vessels were few, and the largest carried no more than twenty guns, it was considered that a reasonable prospect of success might be derived from the co-operation of this maritime armament with the land troops. But the most sanguine hopes were indulged of the opportune arrival of an auxiliary force from Britain, in compliance with the recent application of Shirley ; or, at least, that Commodore Warren, who was cruising with a fleet off the Leeward Islands, might be prevailed on to detach some of his vessels to join the expedition. With such aid, it was concluded that the reduction of Louisburg might be expected.

It was now the commencement of that memorable year [1745] during which the centre of the British empire was shaken and desolated by the last rebellious effort of the partisans of the Pretender to overthrow the government that had subsisted since the Revolution. Vainly agitating a title repudiated by reason, extinguished by time, and formidable only to the gallant or desperate visionaries by whom it was recognized, Charles Edward Stuart, with a handful of men, contrived to rush through Scotland and reach in mad career the centre of England, before flight and discomfiture terminated an enterprise less dangerous than disgraceful to the established government of Britain. In a distant extremity of the empire, the year was illustrated by events more honorable to the British name, and

the possessions and renown of the parent state were enlarged by a conquest, for which she was principally indebted to the enterprising bravery of her American progeny. To the General Court of Massachusetts, consisting of the provincial council and the representatives, assembled at Boston in the beginning of this year [January, 1745], Governor Shirley conveyed a message, acquainting them that he was prepared to communicate a matter of the utmost importance, but of such a nature that the disclosure of it to the public at large, before it had undergone the fullest consideration of the legislature, might be detrimental to the general interest; and desiring that they would therefore consent to receive it under the seal of an oath of secrecy, engaging that it should not publicly transpire without the express authorization of both houses. The Court without the slightest scruple acceded to this extraordinary request;¹ and Shirley thereupon communicated the plan that was formed for the invasion of Cape Breton, together with the result of the inquiries in which he had been engaged, and the reasons from which he inferred the likelihood of a successful issue to the enterprise. Nothing could exceed the amazement with which a great part of the assembly received the proposal of this adventurous design; by some of the members it was at once condemned as chimerical and extravagant; and with the majority the prevailing sentiment was, that, even although a hope of success might not unreasonably be indulged, the magnitude and expense of the effort would prove ruinous to the province. Yet, in professed deference to the recommendation of the governor, and perhaps also from real perplexity, occasioned by a struggle between adventurous spirit and considerate prudence,

¹ "The secret," says Belknap, "was kept for some days; till an honest member, who performed the family devotion at his lodgings, inadvertently discovered it, by praying for a blessing on the attempt."

Of the origin and motives of the expedition the following account was afterwards published in England by Josiah Tucker, the celebrated Dean of Gloucester, a man whose rare sagacity and penetration did not prevent him from being transported into the most egregious folly by passion and prejudice:—"The leading men in the government of Massachusetts, having been guilty of certain malpractices, for which they were in danger of being called to an account, projected the expedition against Cape Breton in order to divert the storm." With equal sincerity and absurdity, he adds,—"I build nothing upon this statement; and I only offer it (because not corroborated by sufficient evidence) as a probable case, and as my own opinion." Tucker's *Humble and Earnest Address*, &c., Postscript.

an ample and leisurely deliberation of the project was appointed ; and for several days it was pondered and discussed with the most earnest attention and no small difference of opinion.

By the partisans of the measure it was urged, that Louisburg, while it remained in the possession of the French, would prove a perpetual scourge to the fisheries and commerce of New England ; that the actual condition of the place seemed propitious to an immediate assault, while the delay of a single year would enable the government of France to render it utterly impregnable ; that, considering the present advanced period of the year, it was unlikely that any French ships of war would be despatched to Louisburg before the fate of the enterprise was decided, and that, if only one should arrive, the flotilla accompanying the besiegers would be sufficient to overpower her ; but that, on the other hand, it was highly probable that the forces of New England would be strengthened by the arrival and coöperation of a naval armament from Britain or the West Indies. In war it was admitted that there must always be uncertainty ; but the chance here was worth the stake ; for, if the attempt should fail, the province was strong enough to sustain the weight of its evil fortune ; while a successful issue would not only free the coast of New England from molestation, but signally promote the glory and advantage of Britain, give peace, perhaps, to Europe, and doubtless procure from British justice a complete reimbursement of the charges of the adventure. To these arguments it was replied by the opposers of the scheme, that it was better to endure the pillage and diminution of the provincial trade, than to risk its destruction by the expense and the failure of so vast an enterprise ; that the garrison of Louisburg consisted of regular troops, whose discipline would compensate their numerical inferiority, and who in the field would find no difficulty in overpowering the inexperienced militia of New England ; that it was impossible to rely on the accounts that were given of the decayed state of the fortifications of Louisburg or the disaffection of the French troops, and that history contained few instances of the success of efforts prompted by such expectations ; that it was absurd, especially after the repeated experience of the tardiness of British succour, to expect to be thus speedily

joined by a naval force from England ; that it was more probable that the besieged would be aided by the arrival of French ships of war, with which the utmost maritime force of New England would be insufficient to cope ; that the preparations for the expedition would be obstructed by the rigor of the season, and the unwillingness of the people to exchange the comfort and repose of their homes, at such a period of the year, for the toils, privations, and dangers of so dubious an enterprise ; that, even if success were attainable, only a disproportioned share of its beneficial effects would be reaped by the colonists ; and that failure, which seemed the more likely result, would expose them not only to a heavy and unpitied loss, but to the reproaches of England for rashly undertaking measures of such importance without her sanction or direction.

These views having prevailed with a majority of the assembly, the projected expedition was disallowed ; and for some days all thoughts of it seemed to be laid aside. Shirley, however, was not to be diverted from his partiality for the enterprise, nor yet from his hope of inducing the provincial authorities to embrace it. But wisely refraining from personal importunity with the assembly or private applications to the members, he adopted the more prudent and efficacious policy of promoting petitions in unison with his views from eminent merchants and other persons of consideration in the colony. These petitions, which were signed by some wealthy inhabitants of Boston, and by almost all the merchants of Salem and Marblehead, earnestly entreated the assembly, for various reasons, and especially for the sake of preserving the fisheries from entire ruin, to reconsider their recent determination, and once more revolve, ere it was yet too late, the practicability and expediency of the enterprise suggested by the governor. In compliance with these petitions, the assembly again resumed the consideration of this interesting affair. Their deliberations were conducted with the utmost calmness and moderation ; and no other division appeared, than what was manifestly owing, and on both sides was candidly ascribed, to conscientious difference of opinion with respect to the true interests of the province and the empire. After a long debate, a resolution

in favor of the expedition was carried by the majority of a single voice.¹ [January 26, 1745.]

The announcement of this important determination of the legislature was followed by an entire and cordial union of all parties in the measures that were necessary to carry it into immediate execution. With a magnanimous emulation to defeat their own predictions and vindicate their patriotism, the former opponents of the expedition now zealously coöperated with its original promoters in accelerating its preparatory arrangements, and in suggesting² and facilitating the procurement of every attainable means of increasing the likelihood of a successful issue. In furtherance of this object, an embargo was laid on the shipping in all the provincial harbours; and messengers were despatched to the other New England States, and to New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, soliciting their assistance and coöperation in the enterprise. All, however, declined to take any share in it, or to render the slightest aid, except the New England States; and even of these, Rhode Island, after voting a contingent of three hundred men, acted with so much tardiness and hesitation in carrying this resolve into effect, that the enterprise was concluded before her troops were ready for the field. But the zeal and ardor that broke forth among all classes of people in Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Hampshire, supplied, as well as reproached, the supine indifference of the other provinces.

¹ Among the members of this assembly were two persons who afterwards acted a conspicuous part in the most interesting scenes of American story, — Hutchinson, who became the historian and governor of Massachusetts; and Oliver, who was associated with him in political sentiment, and in command as lieutenant-governor. Both had expressed their disapprobation of the expedition. As Oliver was repairing to the house on the day when the proposal, which he was determined to resist, was finally to be debated, he chanced to fall and break his leg. In consequence of his absence, when the house divided, the numbers on both sides were found to be equal. Hutchinson, who was the speaker, thereupon surrendered his opinion to what seemed to him the general desire of the province, and gave his casting vote in favor of the expedition: Gordon.

² Many ridiculous suggestions were tendered, and much wild and chimerical expectation indulged. A catalogue of the follies thus engendered by zeal, vanity, and ignorance has been preserved by Belknap, and amply demonstrates, that, if half of the schemes benevolently elaborated by patriotic absurdity had been entertained, the colonial forces would have incurred greater dangers from their friends than from their enemies. Perhaps no enterprise of great general interest was ever projected in the world, without an attendant crop of similar extravagances of speculation.

There, every private interest, political or patrimonial, was either spontaneously absorbed by concern for the general advantage and honor, or was compelled, by the irresistible current of the public will, to bend beneath this supreme consideration. Committees of war were appointed by the several governments, and authorized to enter all private dwellings and warehouses, and to appreciate and seize every article of clothing or provision adapted to the exigencies of the public service. A fleet of twelve small vessels was formed by the armed sloops belonging to the four New England States, and by hiring two privateers that belonged to Rhode Island ; and the deficiency of heavy artillery was supplied by borrowing a number of cannons from New York. An express boat was despatched to Commodore Warren to acquaint him with the projected expedition, and to beseech the assistance of some part of his squadron.

The preparations of the colonists were facilitated by the extraordinary mildness of the winter, and by the opportune and unexpected arrival of some merchant-vessels from England, conveying an ample store of various materials which were indispensably requisite, and of which the deficiency was least capable of being supplied in America. The preceding season having been remarkably fruitful, the provisions required for victualling the forces were plentiful and cheap ; and though war had subsisted for some months with France, neither the French forces in Canada, nor their Indian allies, had given any molestation to the frontiers of New England. Some of the Indian friends of the French, indeed, having discovered the project of the English colonists, carried the tidings to Canada ; but their report was derided by the French as absurd and incredible, and no intelligence of the approaching invasion reached Cape Breton. As the preparations advanced, the expense of them was found greatly to exceed the original estimates and expectations, insomuch that several of the first promoters of the scheme confessed, that, had they foreseen its actual cost, they would never have consented to it ; but they protested that it was now too late to recede. Governor Shirley announced that in this crisis he considered himself entitled to depart from his instructions with regard to paper money, and a large issue

took place under his sanction in Massachusetts, — an example which was followed in New Hampshire.

The selection of a proper commander of the forces was a nice and difficult duty, of which Shirley acquitted himself with his usual prudence. Upon the character and capacity of the commander depended not only the success, but the actual prosecution, of the enterprise ; for, notwithstanding the liberal recompense by which enlistment was encouraged, it was impossible, in a country where indigence was unknown, to collect any considerable number of men willing to forsake their domestic connections and employments, and to engage in a painful and hazardous expedition, unless the commander of it were an individual who enjoyed their attachment and respect. Military skill, and experience in the conduct of regular warfare, were qualifications which it would have been vain to seek for in New England ; but good sense, ability, resolution, and popularity were indispensable requisites. These qualities were very happily combined in William Pepperell, a colonel of the Massachusetts militia, an eminent merchant, possessed of a great landed estate, and generally known and esteemed in Massachusetts and New Hampshire. He was not a stranger to such scenes of war as American experience could supply, — having served from his youth in the provincial militia, and inhabiting a part of the country peculiarly exposed to the assault of French and Indian hostility. Happily for his country, and for his own fame, Pepperell was induced by the earnest instances of Shirley to accept the chief command of the forces ; and next to him in authority was Roger Wolcott, the lieutenant-governor of Connecticut, and one of the most respected and popular of its inhabitants. The station and character of these men, and the great sacrifices which they now incurred of ease and interest, produced a powerful effect in inciting persons of humbler rank to abandon for a season their own less important domestic concerns for the service of their country, and to imitate on a smaller scale the virtue and public spirit of their favorite leaders.

Many who enlisted as private soldiers were themselves freeholders, and many more were the sons of thriving farmers and substantial tradesmen ; — men, whom only views of public in-

terest could persuade to enlist, or to consent to the enlistment of their children. It was strikingly and justly remarked of this famous enterprise, comprehending the reduction of a regular fortress, garrisoned by disciplined troops, that it was conceived and planned by a lawyer, and undertaken and conducted by a merchant commanding a body of husbandmen and mechanics.¹ George Whitefield, the Methodist, was at this time travelling and preaching in New England; and so great was the repute of his sanctity and talents, that many persons anxiously endeavoured to derive from his opinion an augury of the issue of the expedition. With some difficulty he was prevailed on to suggest a motto for the flag of the New Hampshire regiment; and the words which he proposed were "*Nil desperandum Christo sub duce.*" Some of his followers, construing this into a benediction of the enterprise by a highly gifted servant of Heaven, enlisted into it with the enthusiasm of a religious crusade; and one of them, a regimental chaplain, carried on his shoulder a hatchet, with which he menaced the destruction of the images in the French churches. By dint of vigor and promptitude of exertion, aided by the general determination to spare no expense that could improve the chances of success, there was embodied in New England, even within a shorter time than had been anticipated, a force, of which three thousand two hundred and fifty men were supplied by Massachusetts, five hundred and sixteen by Connecticut, and three hundred and fifty by New Hampshire. Never did an army take the field, in civilized warfare, less formidable by its experience and tactical accomplishments, or more likely, from the piety and virtue, the manly fortitude and patriotic enthusiasm that prevailed in its ranks, to minister occasion either of unstained and honorable triumph, or of profound affliction and regret to its country. The earnest expectation that pervaded New England was at once sustained and regulated by religious sentiment. Fasts and prayers implored the divine blessing on the enterprise; and the people and their rulers, having exhausted

¹ "Instructed by such examples, let rulers be persuaded that many things, which appear to be beyond measure daring and full of danger, are not less safe in the execution than admirable in the attempt; and that the design itself, whether frustrated or successful, if conducted with ability, will draw after it immortal honors." Polybius.

all the resources of human endeavour, and girded the choicest of them for battle, now sought to prepare their minds for either fortune by diligent address to the Great Source of hope and consolation, and awaited the result with anxious and submissive awe, or with stern composure and confidence.

The troops of Massachusetts were embarked and ready to sail from Boston [March 23, 1745], when the express-boat, which had been despatched to Commodore Warren, returned with an answer from him, importing, that, as the provincial enterprise was not directed or sanctioned by Great Britain, he must decline to take any share in it. This discouraging intelligence Shirley and Pepperell, happily, determined to withhold from the public and the army; apprehending that its disclosure at such a crisis might induce a total relinquishment of the expedition, which they yet hoped, even if it should fail in reducing Louisburg, might be productive of advantageous results, in the recovery of Canso, the destruction of the French fishery, and the increased security of the British dominion in Nova Scotia. The Massachusetts armament accordingly sailed the next morning [March 24, 1745], and, reaching Canso, found the New Hampshire troops, under the command of Colonel Samuel Moore, already arrived at this place, where the entire assemblage of the provincial army was soon after completed by the accession of the forces of Connecticut. Full of health, courage, and intrepidity, the troops here awaited the dissolution of the ice by which Cape Breton was environed; when an important addition was made to their force, and the highest animation imparted to their hopes, by the sudden and unexpected arrival of Commodore Warren with four ships of war, — one of sixty guns, and the others of forty guns each. [April 23, 1745.] Shirley's application to the British ministry, in the preceding autumn, had prevailed with them to despatch orders to Warren to repair, with as many ships as could be safely detached from his station, to Boston, in order to concert measures for the general promotion of the king's interest in America. In consequence of these orders, which he received shortly after his refusal to comply with the provincial invitation of his assistance, Warren was making sail for Boston, when, learning from a New England vessel that the provincial

forces had already proceeded to Canso, he altered his own course, and repaired thither also. Warren was an active, judicious, and experienced commander ; and nothing could be more seasonable or elating than his arrival at this juncture with a naval armament that not only promised material assistance in the siege, but secured the besiegers against danger from any maritime force arriving from France. After a short consultation with Pepperell, the commodore, with his ships of war, sailed to join and coöperate with a few armed sloops of the colonists, which had been for some time engaged in cruising before Louisburg, and had already performed the signal service of capturing several vessels bound for this place with provisions and West India commodities, and even repulsed a French ship of thirty-six guns, which vainly attempted to penetrate into the harbour. Though these cruisers were daily descried by the French from the walls of Louisburg, no suspicion was awakened of the enterprise to which their operations were subservient.

Soon after the departure of the British ships of war from Canso, Pepperell, learning that the state of the season would admit of a disembarkation at Cape Breton, summoned his forces to active service, and, with the troops and transports, safely arrived in Chapeau-rouge Bay. [April 30, 1745.] In the plan of operations composed and communicated to him by Shirley, he was directed to make a nocturnal assault on the French garrison, and endeavour to carry the fortifications by storm and surprise. This rash enterprise, which, from the strength of the place, would doubtless have been attended with severe loss and a discouraging repulse in the commencement of the siege, was happily prevented by a calm which hindered the transports from entering Chapeau-rouge Bay, till the morning light revealed their approach to the French, — with whom so little apprehension existed of the vicinity of an enemy, that, when the alarm of actual invasion was sounded, most of their officers were roused by it from the slumbers which they had just begun to court, after the festive fatigue of a ball. The New England forces, having accomplished their landing, after a vain attempt to obstruct them, in which the French were repulsed with some loss, made active preparation to invest the

city. Vaughan, who had exerted himself with intense and diffusive ardor in promoting the expedition, enjoyed the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the provincial army, but declined to accept any stated position or particular command; and possessing a seat in the council of war, held himself ready to undertake any service which the general might think adapted to his capacity. He now conducted an advanced column of the forces through the woods, within sight of Louisburg, and greeted the first view of the place and its battlements with three cheers. Thence, at the head of a detachment composed chiefly of the New Hampshire troops, he marched during the night to the north-east part of the harbour, and setting fire to certain large warehouses situated in this quarter, destroyed them, together with a vast collection of naval stores which they contained. The smoke of this conflagration, driven by the wind into the grand battery, excited so much terror and confusion among the French, that they hastily abandoned it, and, spiking its guns, retired into the city.

The next morning, Vaughan, with a handful of men, took possession of the deserted battery, and, in spite of a prompt effort of the French to dislodge him and regain the post they had too lightly yielded, maintained his acquisition till it was effectually secured by the arrival of a reinforcement adequate to its preservation. The guns of this battery were now unspiked and turned against the town with a good deal of execution, but with so great an expense of powder, that it was judged proper, after a while, to discontinue the firing and reserve the besiegers' ammunition for the fascine batteries. The remarkable success which had thus far attended the enterprise contributed to animate the troops with resolution to support the arduous toils and formidable obstructions by which they now plainly perceived that their hopes of victory were confronted. The fortifications, it was ascertained, were of prodigious strength, and the approach to the town exceedingly difficult. For nearly two miles the besiegers had to transport their cannon, mortars, and ammunition across a morass, where horses or oxen would have been unserviceable, and where only the personal labor of men could be efficiently employed. This service was allotted to such of the troops as had been

familiarized to toils of a kindred description by the employment of cutting down pine-trees in New England, and dragging them through the forests and across the swamps, to be disposed of as masts for vessels. Unacquainted with the art of regular approaches, the besiegers relied on no other shelter than what darkness afforded, and advanced their works only during the night; and when some one of greater experience attempted to instruct them in processes of more scientific and continuous operation, they were only moved to merriment by the strange nomenclature of his art, and persisted with stubborn, and yet animated, exertion in pursuing the simple dictates of their own uninstructed judgments. The heroic and patriotic ardor which hurried them to the field was by no means calculated to prepare their spirits for the mechanical submission, precision, and regularity which characterize the movements of disciplined soldiers. It was a fortunate circumstance for them, during the progress of these operations, that, from the mutinous disposition which the troops composing the garrison of Louisburg had previously manifested, their officers could not trust them to make a single sortie, lest they should seize the opportunity of deserting. A vigorous sally from the garrison would have been attended with great peril to the besieging troops, who, though they displayed the utmost steadiness and circumspection when in the trenches, and always presented a formidable front to the enemy, yet evinced their want of discipline in the rear of their encampment, which continually exhibited a tumultuary scene of gayety, pastime, and confusion. At length [May 20, 1745], by dint of the most indefatigable exertions, five fascine batteries were erected, and a fire was maintained from them with considerable effect.

While the land forces, aided by a detachment of Warren's marines, were thus employed on shore, the ships of war and armed sloops cruised, with vigilant watch, off the harbour; and on the 18th of May, the commodore succeeded in capturing a French man-of-war of sixty-four guns, carrying a large supply of stores of all sorts, intended for the use of the garrison.¹ The disappointment which this capture occasioned to

¹ This vessel was commanded by the Marquis de la Maison-forte, whose arrival, the besiegers learned, had been anxiously expected by the French

the besieged was proportioned to the joy which it afforded to the besiegers, whose auxiliary naval force was soon after augmented by the arrival and coöperation of several other English ships of war. The siege was now pressed with increased activity and vigilance by Warren and his squadron, and with the most vigorous perseverance by the land forces. A battery, constructed by the besiegers in a commanding situation, began to overpower the island battery of the garrison ; the circular battery was nearly demolished ; and the other fortifications, as well as the town itself, had sustained considerable injury. The practicability of capture by storm was at length suggested ; and after some consultation between Pepperell and Warren, preparations were made to bring some of the ships of war into the harbour to coöperate with the land forces in a joint attack upon the town. Duchambon, the commander of the garrison, perceiving the symptoms of a general assault, afraid to incur the risk of it, and disheartened alike by the vigor of the besiegers and the hopelessness of relief from France, demanded an armistice for the purpose of arranging the terms of a capitulation. [June 15, 1745.] Two days after, and at the end of a siege of forty-nine days, the city of Louisburg and island of Cape Breton were surrendered to the crown of Great Britain. The garrison, which thus became prisoners, was found to consist of six hundred regular troops and thirteen hundred militia, and possessed a store of provisions and ammunition sufficient to have prolonged the siege for five or six months. When the captors entered the fortress, and perceived its massive and but slightly diminished strength, the bravest among them were struck with awe, and congratulated themselves on the circumstances that had so happily intercepted the impracticable designs, first of carrying it by surprise, and afterwards of reducing it by storm. Nothing, indeed, could have occurred more opportunely for the besiegers than the surrender. From the

garrison. How to proclaim, without seeming to overvalue, his capture was the difficulty. At length Warren suggested a plan which was adopted by Pepperell. The marquis, who was a humane man, was persuaded to visit his countrymen, the French prisoners, in their confinement, and to write a letter to Duchambon, describing what he had witnessed, and recommending that the English prisoners should be treated with equal humanity and consideration. This letter, as was foreseen, struck the French commander with surprise and consternation.

length and hardships of the siege, their powder had begun to fail, and their effective strength was diminished by disease. Urgent application had been made to New England for reinforcements both of men and ammunition ; and though the hope of victory was there greatly depressed, the application was promptly complied with ; and from Massachusetts and Connecticut there were despatched additional troops and supplies, which, however, did not reach their destination till after the contest was decided.

Scarcely had the surrender taken place, and the besieging troops obtained the shelter of the captured town, than the periodical rains began, and for ten days prevailed with a violence that must have greatly impeded their operations, and would probably have induced them to relinquish the siege altogether. Till the conclusion of the enterprise, the utmost harmony prevailed between the provincial general and the British commodore ; the naval operations were conducted with vigor and skill ; and the behaviour of the land forces (necessarily void of the factitious merits of disciplined soldiers) was generally characterized by a firm, unbending fortitude, and a heroic daring and determination, that reflected no less honor on them than on the country to which, and not to military habit or scientific tuition, their character derivatively belonged. Notwithstanding the length and hardships of the siege, the provincial army lost altogether by sickness and the sword little more than a hundred men, of whom sixty perished in an unfortunate attack on the island battery.

The conquest thus achieved was not less advantageous to Britain than injurious to France, whose schemes were disconcerted and deranged by it in a remarkable degree. In consequence of Duvivier's applications to the French court, he was despatched with a force which would have been sufficient not only to secure Louisburg against the possibility of capture, but to undertake the reconquest of Nova Scotia ; but the efficacy of the succour which he was hastening to bring was defeated by the superior vigor and promptitude of New England ; and learning on his passage that Louisburg had fallen, he returned with the mortifying intelligence to France. The town was taken at a period of the year when the resort of many French

ships to the harbour was usually expected. To decoy them, the French flag was kept flying on the ramparts of Louisburg ; and the effect of this manœuvre was the capture of so many vessels, as, added to the prizes acquired during the siege, were valued at upwards of a million of pounds sterling.

The provincial troops, who performed the original and most substantial part of the enterprise, and who for nearly a year formed the sole British garrison by which Louisburg was occupied, together with the crews of the New England vessels which coöperated with the British ships of war, vainly expected and demanded a share of the prize-money that accrued from the captures. Their claim to participate in this advantage was disallowed by the British government ; and the whole of the prize-money was appropriated to the officers and crews of the royal ships of war. Unfortunately, the harmony that prevailed between the provincial forces and the British naval squadron during the siege did not survive its successful issue ; and it was not without dispute that Pepperell asserted his just right to receive the delivery of the keys of the town, and to take precedence of a detachment of the naval forces in entering to assume its occupation. The British government, though favored by this provincial enterprise with the first ray of success that illustrated its arms during the war, displayed the most illiberal desire to magnify the merits of the *royal* and naval force, and to depreciate the fair claim of the colonists to the glory of the conquest. Great Britain, indeed, partook the general astonishment which the achievement excited ; but her ministers blended with their surprise no small degree of jealousy against the province and the provincial politicians, who pretended, by an especial victorious energy, to redeem the disgrace of general disaster and defeat.¹ Among other rewards, the title of a baronet was conferred as an acknowledgment of the services of Warren ; and though a seeming impartiality of recompense was studied, by the communication of the same dignity to Pepperell, the official accounts of the conquest of Cape Breton, that were published in England, suppressed the merits of the

¹ It is remarkable that the first conquest gained by the English from the French in America, the conquest of Canada, in 1629 (*ante* Book II., Chap. I.), was also the fruit of a war of which the events in Europe were disgraceful to England.

provincial forces in a manner that filled them with equal surprise and resentment, and taught them to consider the reputation of America as a distinct and separate interest, instead of blending it in their regard with the general glory of Britain. But in spite of ungenerous neglect and insidious disguise, the real truth broke out, and the British empire in general owned, with wonder and awakened interest and curiosity, the obligations for which it was indebted to America.¹ Among other officers who distinguished themselves by their valor during the siege was David Wooster, of Connecticut, who afterwards attained the rank of general in the American service, and died fighting for the independence of his country in the beginning of the Revolutionary War.

The tidings of this important victory excited a general transport of joy in New England. Considerate and religious men remarked with mingled gratitude and wonder the coincidence of numerous circumstances and events on which the success of the enterprise essentially depended, and which induced a contemporary writer to declare, that, "if any one circumstance had taken a wrong turn on the English side, and unless every circumstance had taken a wrong turn on the French side, the expedition must have entirely miscarried." While the adventurous ardor, the firmness, and patriotism of the men who projected and executed a design of such magnitude, and attended with so much danger and difficulty, were extolled with just and unstinted commendation, it was acknowledged that the attempt disclosed extreme temerity, and that, in its progress and accomplishment, the propitious agency of Divine Providence was singularly manifested. It was, indeed,

¹ Even Smollett, whose national partiality has induced him to declare that "the reduction of Louisburg was chiefly owing to the vigilance and activity of Mr. Warren, one of the bravest and best officers in the service of England," has been constrained by the force of truth to add, that "the natives of New England acquired great glory from the success of this enterprise." — "Circumstanced as the nation is," continues this writer, "the legislature cannot too tenderly cherish the interests of the British plantations in America." — "The continent of North America," he proceeds, "if properly cultivated, will form an inexhaustible fund of wealth and strength to Great Britain; and, perhaps, may become the last asylum of British liberty. When the nation is enslaved by domestic despotism or foreign dominion; when her substance is wasted, her spirit broken, and the laws and constitution of England are no more; then those colonies, sent off by our fathers, may receive and entertain their sons as hapless exiles and ruined refugees." Compare this with the language of Edmund Burke, cited in Note XXII., at the end of Vol. IV., *post*.

an enterprise which only success could justify or even excuse ; and, like the celebrated recapture of Calais by the Duke of Guise, confirmed the military maxim, that seeming impossibility may facilitate a grand achievement. From New England, the intelligence was diffused with surprising rapidity through the other provinces of America, and everywhere elicited the expressions of triumph and admiration. The States which had refused their assistance in the expedition were not restrained by mean shame or jealousy from confessing the glory that New England acquired by undertaking it unaided, and conducting it with so much fortitude, perseverance, and success. They paid a willing tribute to a renown which exalted the character and prospects of America ; and, with sympathy warmed by gratitude and exultation, hastened to tender unsolicited subsidies for the support of the New England forces and the preservation of their conquest. Even the assembly of Pennsylvania, now that the slaughter was over, were not deterred by their religious scruples from voting an instant contribution of four thousand pounds for this purpose ; three thousand pounds were contributed by New York ; and two thousand pounds by New Jersey. Virginia had not to reproach herself with having declined originally to aid New England in the expedition, of which she was first made acquainted by the intelligence of its successful issue ; and at this time some circumstances existed that seemed likely to reawaken the jealousy that of yore prevailed between the New Englanders and the Virginians.

A remarkable revival of the primitive warmth of religious zeal had occurred of late years in New England ; and this influence, which was greatly promoted by the genius and piety of George Whitefield, was propagated more or less extensively by his itinerant labors in all the other provincial communities. The admirable piety of the Moravians had also contributed to animate religious sentiment in America ; and numerous proselytes to their doctrines and constitutions began to appear in every one of the States. New England was regarded as the centre and focus of this influence, which was viewed with apprehensive bigotry and dislike by the Episcopal clergy and the magistracy of Virginia. Gooch, the governor of this

province, though a man of excellent talents, and justly celebrated for the good sense, public spirit, and generosity by which his civil administration was characterized, was yet a stranger to the sentiment, and still more so to the principle, of religious toleration. Attached to the church of England, he beheld the multiplication of dissenters from its established system with impatient displeasure, and vainly labored to check the progress of opinion and the freedom of thought by proclamations against the assemblages of Moravians and Methodists, who were threatened with a rigorous execution of all the theoretical intolerance which still pervaded the ecclesiastical constitutions of Virginia. This persecution, though moderated in its infliction by the humane and tolerant spirit of the age, was yet cordially abetted by many persons of consideration in Virginia, and among the rest by Edmund Pendleton and some other individuals who were afterwards distinguished as champions of the purest principles of liberty, and of every generous right of human nature.

Notwithstanding the tendency of such exasperated bigotry to repress the growth of friendship and good-will between this province and New England, the conquest of Louisburg was celebrated with the most enthusiastic praise and exultation in Virginia, where the only abatement of the general satisfaction was occasioned by the regret of the people that they had not enjoyed the opportunity of aiding the bravery, and sharing the danger of their countrymen. A great quantity of provisions was purchased by the Virginian government and presented to the New England garrison at Louisburg; and to encourage a plentiful exportation of whatever articles the colony could supply for their use, a trade free of all duty was allowed between Virginia and Cape Breton. But honorable and gratifying as these testimonies were to the States of New England, the embarrassments in which they were involved by the heavy expense of the Louisburg expedition compelled them to solicit a more substantial tribute from the justice of Britain, and to urge their claim to reimbursement, from the general treasury of the empire, of the cost of an enterprise by which the national honor and interest were so highly promoted. This claim, though equally supported by principles of justice and considerations of sound policy, did not prevail without

urgent and protracted solicitation ; nor was the indemnity granted, till Britain had diminished the grace and enhanced the necessity of it by consenting to restore Louisburg, as the price of peace with France.¹

More interest was excited in Britain by the unexpected display of martial vigor in her colonial progeny, than was inspired in the colonies by the interesting conflict that arose between the government and the Scottish insurgents in the centre of the empire. Virginia was the only one of the provinces in which the intelligence of the rebellion in Britain awakened much attention or anxiety, or from which there was elicited any strong manifestation of sentiments akin to the emotions by which the parent state was agitated.² The utmost alarm and indignation were kindled in this province ; and its inhabitants united in addresses to the British government, expressive of their loyal abhorrence of the Pretender, and pledging their lives and fortunes to the most determined resistance of his designs. Proclamations were issued by the Virginian government, denouncing, with all the injustice of terror, the pretended conspiracies of the Catholic clergy of Maryland to seduce the people from their allegiance and extend the flame of civil war to America. Additional jealousy was excited even against the Protestant Dissenters by the peril to which the church of England was exposed from the arms of the Pretender ; and the religious assemblages of Presbyterians, Methodists, and Moravians were prohibited under the severest penalties. [1746.]

The suppression of the rebellion was attended with consequences of general importance to the American States. After

¹ Douglass. Smollett. Hutchinson. Belknap. Trumbull. Burk. Holmes. Eliot's *New England Biographical Dictionary*.

² Some time after the suppression of the rebellion, indeed, a loyal address of congratulation on this event was voted by the assembly of Connecticut to the king ; in which they expressed the strongest attachment to his Majesty's person, family, and government ; a deep sense of the happiness which Connecticut enjoyed under his auspicious reign ; and the utmost abhorrence of "that unnatural and wicked rebellion raised in favor of a Popish pretender against the best of kings and the best of governments." They concluded by praying that "the merciful Providence which has placed his Majesty on the British throne, and given him so long and so illustrious a reign, may still protect his sacred person, subdue his enemies, make his reign prosperous, and continue the crown in his royal and illustrious family to the latest posterity." Trumbull.

the rage and terror with which the British nation was inspired by the enterprise of the rebels had been fully satiated by the infliction of military ravage on a large district of the Highlands of Scotland, and by numerous instances of the more formal, but not less barbarous executions, authorized by the ancient statutes, for the punishment of treason in England, the remainder of the victims were exempted from slaughter, and consigned to the mitigated penalty of transportation for life to the dominions of the crown in America. A great number of brave and hardy emigrants were thus distributed among all the provinces ; and the historians of the southern settlements especially have acknowledged the valuable accession which was derived from this source to the provincial strength, resources, and industry. In America these emigrants experienced much greater liberty and indulgence than even the guiltless portion of their race that remained in Scotland was permitted to enjoy. Among other advantages, they obtained the privilege of wearing their peculiar garb, to which they were strongly attached, but which was now prohibited in Scotland by an absurd and tyrannical act of parliament. It was, perhaps, impolitic of Great Britain thus to strengthen her colonies, by transplanting to them a race of men who cherished enmity against her monarchical establishment, together with a deep resentment of the cruelty and humiliation inflicted on their native land. The farther resort of Scottish emigrants to America was promoted soon after by the measures adopted by the British parliament for abolishing the military tenure of lands, which had hitherto subsisted in Scotland, and had enabled the Highland chieftains to produce the late rebellion. The proprietors of Highland estates, no longer permitted to exact military service from the occupants of their lands, and no longer deriving advantage from the numerous population they formerly studied to maintain around them as feudal retainers, rather than tenants, universally raised their rents and enlarged their farms ; whereby vast multitudes of Highlanders were ejected from their homes, and many more were induced voluntarily to relinquish them by the disgust and impatience which these innovations provoked. To this disappointed and discontented race the American provinces presented the strongest attractions. Here they might cheaply

obtain abundance of land, and enjoy their national manners and habits of independence without molestation ; and here, accordingly, for many years after, numerous detachments of Scottish Highlanders continued annually to repair.¹

Meanwhile, both Britain and France were roused by the capture of Louisburg to the projection of vigorous and extended operations in America. Governor Shirley, flushed with the conquest which reflected so much credit on his genius and administration, contemplated nothing less than the entire and immediate subjugation of the French colonial dominions ; and when he announced the capture of Louisburg to the British ministers, he employed the utmost urgency of counsel to induce them straightway to despatch an armament sufficient not only for the preservation of Cape Breton and Nova Scotia, but for the invasion and reduction of Canada. It was not without reason, that, while he suggested the expediency of farther conquest, he urged the necessity of aiding the defence of the existing possessions of Britain ; for the French government, astonished and incensed at the disgrace which it had sustained, meditated a great vindictive effort, and was preparing an expedition for the recovery of Louisburg, the conquest of Nova Scotia, the bombardment of Boston, and the devastation of the whole American coast from Nova Scotia to Georgia. The British ministers seemed at first to hearken readily to the counsels of Shirley ; and in the spring of this year, circular letters were addressed by the Duke of Newcastle, secretary of state, to the governors of all the American provinces of Britain except the Carolinas and Georgia, requiring them to raise as many forces as they could afford, to coöperate with a British army in a general attack upon the American possessions of France. According to the plan of the enterprise communicated by the royal ministers to Shirley, a squadron

¹ Burk. Hewitt. Williamson. Smollett. Johnson's *Tour to the Hebrides*.

"Alas! poor Caledonia's mountaineer,
That want's stern edict e'er, and feudal grief,
Had forced him from a home he loved so dear!
Yet found he here a home and glad relief."

Campbell.

Some of the Highland partisans of the Pretender, in 1778, addressed to him a memorial, in which they offered to raise his standard in the back settlements of America. Sir Walter Scott told Washington Irving that he had seen the memorial.

of ships of war, under the command of Admiral Warren, together with a body of land forces under General St. Clair, were to be sent from Britain against Canada; the troops raised in New England were directed to join the British fleet and army at Louisburg, whence the combined armament was to proceed up the river St. Lawrence; while the forces of New York and the other southern colonies were to be collected at Albany, and march thence against Crown Point and Montreal.

The assembly of Massachusetts betrayed at first some disinclination to participate in the enterprise, and represented to their governor that it was impossible, without financial ruin, to make any addition to the burdens which the recent expedition against Louisburg had already entailed on the province. But Shirley in reply assured them that they were ruined already, unless they could procure reimbursement of their late expenditure from the parent state; and that the surest means of obtaining such relief was to enforce the cogency of their claim to it by involving the province still more deeply in debt, and to conciliate British favor by the display of undiminished zeal and bravery. Additional arguments were supplied to him by the ravages which the French forces in Canada and their Indian allies now committed on the frontiers of Massachusetts and New Hampshire. Instead of a burdensome and ineffectual system of defensive warfare along a frontier which it was impossible to render at all points secure, Shirley advised the Massachusetts assembly rather to coöperate with an enterprise which promised finally to extinguish the source of those desolating hostilities. His reasoning, seconded by the inclinations of many of the colonists, who were averse to pause in the career of prosperous fortune, proved successful with the assembly, which, again resuming preparations for offensive war, conducted them with so much spirit, that, of eight thousand two hundred¹ men which were raised by all the colonies that engaged in this

¹ Of these troops, New Hampshire furnished five hundred; Massachusetts, three thousand five hundred; Rhode Island, three hundred; Connecticut, one thousand; New York, one thousand six hundred; New Jersey, five hundred; Maryland, three hundred; Virginia, one hundred; and Pennsylvania (by a popular act unsanctioned by its assembly), four hundred. Belknap differs from all the other authorities in stating, that New Hampshire, on this occasion, raised eight hundred men.

design, three thousand five hundred were furnished by Massachusetts. The provincial force thus embodied exceeded the expectations of the British ministers, who, without specifying the contingent of troops required from the respective provinces, had merely announced that it was the wish of the king that the total levies should not fall short of five thousand men.

But the hopes which Britain thus again rekindled in her American colonies, of deliverance from the hostile vicinity of the French, were fated to produce only a repetition of former disappointments. Whether it was, as some American politicians believed, that the British ministers were jealous of the bold and enterprising spirit of the colonists, and secretly averse to remove the restraint imposed upon them by the propinquity of a rival power, or that those ministers really suspected, as has been alleged, that the armament, which the French were preparing, ostensibly, for the invasion of America, was actually destined to invade Great Britain, — the whole summer elapsed without the arrival of troops or orders from England; and the British fleet, which had been promised, and which consisted of nearly thirty ships of war, after delaying its departure till a period of the year when it was reckoned unsafe to risk the large vessels on the American coasts, received orders to undertake a substitutional enterprise, and performed nothing more memorable than an unsuccessful attempt to surprise Port L'Orient, in Brittany. [September, 1746.] Shirley, at last, perceiving that it was vain to await any longer the arrival of an armament from Britain, resolved, with the approbation of Sir William Pepperell and other leading persons in New England, to attempt, with the provincial forces alone, the reduction of some part of the American possessions of France. It was proposed to detach a portion of the New England troops to join the forces assembled at Albany, and in conjunction with them to invest and attack the French fort at Crown Point; a project which was warmly embraced by Clinton, the governor of New York, who solicited and engaged the assistance of the Six Nations. The preparations for this enterprise, however, were interrupted by intelligence from Mascarene, the governor of Nova Scotia, of the march of a body of French troops and Indians against Annapolis, and of symptoms of revolt among

the resident population of the province. Instant succour was required to prevent this territory from being again wrested from the British dominion ; and the forces of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire were accordingly directed to proceed to this new scene of action. [September 20, 1746.] But when they were on the point of embarking, the schemes of the provincial authorities were again disconcerted by the alarming tidings of the arrival of a French fleet and army at Chebucto Bay, in Nova Scotia. This armament, consisting of forty vessels, of which eleven were ships of the line, together with transports conveying upwards of three thousand disciplined troops, and a formidable apparatus of artillery and military stores, was conducted by the Duke d'Anville, a nobleman on whose courage and capacity the court of France reposed more confidence than the event seems to justify. The French inhabitants of Nova Scotia, it was expected, would coöperate with the invading forces ; and Ramsay, a French officer, with one thousand seven hundred Canadian troops and Indians, had already repaired thither in expectation of their arrival. Nothing could exceed the astonishment and dismay which this intelligence produced in New England, where the spirit of the people, worn with anxious suspense and disappointment, was prepared to receive the most gloomy impressions. In the first moments of panic, it was believed that the British colonies were now devoted to inevitable destruction. But these emotions were speedily controlled by deep-rooted fortitude and courage ; and boldly confronting the danger with which they were menaced, the New Englanders were elevated by the alarm of this emergency to the highest pitch of manly constancy and resolution.¹

The most vigorous preparations were made for the general defence. In the course of a very few days, six thousand four hundred of the Massachusetts militia marched into Boston, and united themselves to the troops that were already assembled there ; and Connecticut announced that she was ready at the first signal to despatch an additional reinforcement of six thou-

¹ We may well apply to this people the remark of Polybius on the Romans, that, "Such is their disposition and temper, that, whenever they have any real cause of fear, they are at that time themselves most greatly to be dreaded."

sand men. New forts and batteries were erected along the coast ; the utmost vigilance was exerted to guard against surprise ; and for six weeks the whole country resounded with the clang of martial preparation, and was pervaded by the most agitating suspense and anxiety. As time wore on without the approach of the French, the public hope was sustained by a growing conviction that succour must speedily arrive from England. It was impossible, the people generally exclaimed, that the king's ministers should be unacquainted with the sailing of the French fleet ; and unless they were willing to deliver up the colonies to the rage of the enemy, it was not to be doubted that an English squadron would presently appear in America. But this confidence proved fallacious ; and the colonial dominion of Britain would infallibly have received a dangerous, if not a fatal blow, had not a surprising train of adverse circumstances concurred to dissipate the strength and confound the hopes of the invaders. The French fleet sustained much damage by storms, and several losses by shipwreck ; and while D'Anville awaited the repair and reassemblage of his scattered vessels, a pestilential fever broke out among the land forces. These calamities preyed severely on the mind of the French commander ; and their efficacy was promoted by an incident in which the sanguine temper of Shirley proved strangely subservient to the interest of New England.

Partaking the general conviction of the speedy arrival of a fleet from Britain, he communicated this cheering intelligence rather as a certainty than a speculation in letters addressed to the garrison of Louisburg ; but the capture of the vessel by which his letters were conveyed, fortunately for his interest, though contrary to his views, exposed the enemy, instead of his friends, to the mistaken impression he had adopted. A division of opinion now arose among the French officers ; and, in the midst of their deliberations, D'Anville suddenly died, by a stroke of apoplexy, as some reported, or by swallowing poison, as others supposed. D'Estournelle, who succeeded to the command, disheartened, like his predecessor, by the disasters that had befallen the expedition, and the apprehension that an English fleet was at hand, and learning that a reinforcement of French ships of war, which he expected from the West Indies,

had returned to France, proposed a similar retreat to a council of his officers ; and in consequence of the rejection of his proposal, was attacked with a frenzy or delirium, in which he threw himself upon his sword and expired. The command of the French was now assumed by Jonquière, the governor of Canada [October 15, 1746], whose vigor and intrepidity gave promise of a change in the aspect of affairs, when the fleet was overtaken by a tremendous tempest, which, continuing for several days, occasioned so much loss and dispersion, that all the vessels which survived the fury of the storm hastened to return separately to France. Never had so great an armament been despatched from Europe to North America ; and never had any proved more inefficient or incurred equal disasters. Had the project of the French succeeded, the British colonies would have sustained a ravage and desolation of which it is impossible to calculate the extent or the consequences. Of this the people of New England, amidst all their energy and determination, were especially sensible ; and when they learned the surprising deliverance, which, without the slightest human aid or exertion, was vouchsafed to them, they acknowledged with grateful and solemn admiration, that, as they had formerly been indebted for victory and conquest, so now they owed their safety and rescue from destruction, to the signal favor and interposition of Divine Providence. These pious sentiments were entirely un-mixed with impressions of respect or gratitude to the parent state. Indeed, the conduct of the British government, and of its naval commanders, on this occasion, was but too well calculated to provoke the resentment and contempt of the colonists.¹ Although the king's ministers had received early intelligence of the departure of D'Anville's squadron for America, they made no attempt to intercept the blow with which the British colonies were threatened. Their concern extended no farther than the preservation of Louisburg, for the security of which they despatched Admiral Townsend with a squadron to

¹ Yet, three months after the dispersion of the French squadron, the assembly of Connecticut voted the loyal address which we have remarked, on the suppression of the rebellion in Britain. Sometimes one or two members of a public body propose demonstrations which the majority, without relishing, are reluctant to oppose ; and hence the language even of a representative assembly does not always afford a correct sample of the disposition of the people.

reinforce the ships of war that were stationed there under Commodore Knowles ; and these two commanders, doubtless in conformity with orders which they received, contented themselves with guarding Louisburg from attack, without making the slightest demonstration in support of New England.¹

¹ Belknap. Trumbull. Holmes. Smollett. Hutchinson.

CHAPTER II.

Progress of the War. — Tumult excited by naval Impressment in Boston. — Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. — Regulation of Paper Currency in New England. — Policy of the British Government relative to America. — Political Sentiments and Speculations of the Americans. — Condition of America, and miscellaneous Transactions. — Origin of Vermont. — The Ohio Company. — American Science and Literature.

ALTHOUGH, by the discomfiture of the French armament, the British colonies were relieved from the apprehension of the greatest danger to which they had ever been exposed, their frontier settlements were still harassed by predatory hostilities ; and fears were entertained of the loss of Annapolis and the revolt of Nova Scotia. No sooner was it known in New England that D'Anville's squadron was dispersed and compelled to return to France, than the troops originally destined to Nova Scotia were again directed to proceed thither without delay, for the purpose of capturing or expelling the Canadian forces assembled under the command of the Chevalier Ramsay. This expedition proved unfortunate. Only the regiment embodied in Massachusetts, amounting to six hundred men, commanded by Colonel Noble, reached Nova Scotia ; the troops of Rhode Island having been shipwrecked on their passage, and those of New Hampshire driven back by contrary winds. [January 31, 1747.¹] In the middle of a tempestuous night, the Massachusetts regiment was suddenly attacked by a superior French force ; and, after an obstinate resistance and the loss of its commander and a hundred and sixty men, was compelled to sur-

¹ No seminary of learning having yet arisen in Rhode Island, several public-spirited citizens this year founded a library at Newport for the promotion of literature in the colony. One of them contributed books to the value of five hundred pounds sterling. A charter of incorporation was obtained from the provincial government, and a handsome building erected for the library. The plan seems to have been derived from that of the Library Company of Philadelphia, which was formed under the auspices of Dr. Franklin about five years before. Franklin's *Memoirs*. Holmes.

render. Notwithstanding this victory, Ramsay judged it proper to defer the attack upon Annapolis ; and the French inhabitants of Nova Scotia forbore to incur the danger of open revolt till the arrival of succours, which they still hoped to receive, from France. Nor were their hopes ill founded. The French government, more irritated by the loss of Louisburg than discouraged by the disastrous issue of D'Anville's expedition, prepared with unabated spirit to retrieve its recent failure and repeat the intercepted blow. A strong naval force, equipped with the utmost speed for this purpose, set sail from France, under the command of Jonquière, the governor of Canada, but was overtaken by a British fleet, commanded by Admirals Anson and Warren, and, after a gallant resistance, defeated and captured. [May 3, 1747.] Ramsay, apprized of this catastrophe, hastened to evacuate Nova Scotia, and reconducted his troops to Canada ; whence the French, with the aid of their Indian allies, continued to infest the borders of New England and New York with hostilities resembling more the practices of banditti than the operations of civilized warfare, and tending to no other results than obscure individual suffering and partial havoc and devastation.

The frontier settlements of New Hampshire, in particular, were exposed to such incessant danger from these incursions, that the inhabitants were compelled to fortify their houses, and could never venture to stir from them unarmed. They were probably on that account the less willing to maintain public fortresses ; and notwithstanding the urgent entreaties of their governor, the assembly of this province positively refused to make any grant for the support of Fort Dummer, which was situated in the territory that New Hampshire had recently and undeservedly gained from Massachusetts. This defect of public spirit, however, was supplied by the generosity of the people of Massachusetts, who undertook to defend for the neighbouring State a possession of which her intrigues had despoiled them. The most considerable of the enterprises undertaken by the French Canadians and their allies were directed against two forts on Connecticut River, garrisoned by detachments of the Massachusetts militia. One of them was taken ; but the other, which was occupied by Captain Stevens and thirty men, though

a place of little strength, and hotly attacked for several days by a very superior force, withstood the assailants with a vigor and success that excited universal surprise and applause. In the territory of New York, among other ravages committed by the French and their allies, the village of Saratoga, containing thirty families, was entirely destroyed, and the inhabitants massacred without reserve or discrimination.

The annals of New Hampshire, during the last two years of the war, present a long and mournful catalogue of plantations laid waste, and colonists slain or carried into captivity by the enemy. Pillage, rather than conquest, was the object of the invaders ; and their prowess was directed less against states and armies, than against dwelling-houses, families, rural industry, and domestic life. This was the style of warfare most conformable to the tastes, the habits, and the interests of the savages who coöperated with the French. They had no relish or conception of wars in which private property was respected ; they had nothing to gain from conquests achieved in conjunction with a more powerful ally ; and preferably approved those predatory hostilities which afforded the greatest scope to the qualifications in which they excelled, enriched them with plunder, and exasperated the mutual animosity of the rival European powers, without affording to either a decisive superiority over the other. It is probable that the French, unless they were actuated by mere hatred and cruelty, pursued this barbarous system of warfare chiefly in order to cultivate their own interest with the savages, and to confirm them in habits of hostility to the English. Yet it was remarked, that, during the present war, the Indians, whether from increased humanity or improved policy, displayed a degree of forbearance and clemency which they never before exhibited, and which the English had deemed incompatible with the savage nature of such belligerents. They inflicted no tortures on their prisoners, and very rarely slew them ; in general, they lavished upon them the most tender and compassionate attentions ; and on one occasion they evinced the rare moderation of sparing a prisoner, who, after suing for and obtaining quarter, wounded his captor and endeavoured to escape. No attempt was made by the British colonists to requite these predatory hostilities on the territory of the

enemy. Though filled with resentment against the French, they were generally averse to any active enterprise short of the invasion and complete conquest of Canada. Their warfare was entirely defensive ; and it seems in general to have been conducted with more bravery than skill or efficiency. A confusion of councils and a multiplicity of directors caused every project and purpose to transpire before it was carried into effect, and produced frequent changes of measures, and the most injurious delays in their execution.

The Canadian government, of which the frame was more simple and compendious, was enabled to act with greater promptitude and secrecy ; and, enjoying the plenitude of arbitrary power, it granted commissions to none of its subjects but such as had distinguished themselves by their talents and exploits. But the British provincial governors, controlled by jealous and independent assemblies, were frequently compelled or tempted to confer military commands on useful adherents and popular politicians, who mistook ambition or patriotic zeal for science and capacity ; and they were disabled from exerting that concentrated readiness and energy which characterized the executive policy of the French. In addition to the losses inflicted by the depredations of the enemy, a great expense was incurred for the maintenance of numerous troops, who were yet too few to cover the frontiers, and rarely succeeded in avenging the violation of them, by overtaking or intercepting the invaders. During the latter years of this war, the most perfect contrast appears in every point between the conduct of the French and the British provincials. The operations of the French were offensive, methodical, cheap (for the charges were defrayed by plunder), and distressing to their enemies ; the warfare of the British was defensive, desultory, costly, and almost entirely inefficient. Predatory incursions into the Canadian territory would have given certain employment to the British provincial troops ; and, by engaging the French to defend themselves, would, perhaps, have afforded relief to the British frontier. But this system of hostility was repugnant alike to the dignity of the States and the general sentiments of the people of New England. Besides the Canadian Indians, the French were assisted in this war by their ancient allies, the

Indian tribes inhabiting the territories of Maine and Nova Scotia ; but repeated defeats had broken the strength and depressed the courage of these tribes, and their hostility, though productive of some devastation of frontier settlements, proved now less vigorous and harassing than on former occasions.¹

It was an indirect consequence of the war, that produced the most notable event by which this year was signalized in America [1747] : a tumultuary movement in Massachusetts, which for a time suspended the functions of government, and in some of its features exhibited so close an analogy to the grander scene that arose about twenty years after, that it appears like a rehearsal, as it was certainly an omen, of the leading and initial events of the American Revolution. Had the warning which it was fitted to convey been duly appreciated by the British government, this remarkable occurrence might have tended to avert the great extremity which it resembled and betokened.

During the prevalence of feudal manners and institutions in England, the crown exercised the prerogative of equipping its navies in war, by appropriating, or, as it was termed, *impressing*, the vessels and the seamen employed by the merchants. The revenue of the crown was not more capable of maintaining a standing naval establishment than a standing army of land forces ; and the feudal institutions did not admit of the same regulated service and definite subordination of the national merchants and seamen, as of the territorial barons and vassals, to the king. The aids which he obtained from them were, accordingly, irregular, occasional, and the fruits of a prerogative restrained by no constitutional principle or limitation. By the territorial vassals there were rendered to the king the contingents of personal or pecuniary service ascertained by their respective charters ; but from the merchants and traders he exacted compulsory loans and gifts of their property, to an extent bounded only by his power, his rapacity, or the emergency of the occasion. This overweening prerogative was at length controlled by the rising importance of that order of men whose rights and interests were peculiarly its prey. When, in process of time, the increasing wealth and consequence of the merchants and trades-

¹ Douglass. *Universal History*. Wynne. Hutchinson. Belknap. Trumbull. Holmes.

men of England had paved the way to the introduction of a more regular and general system of liberty in the place of the feudal institutions, all classes of the people were enabled to claim the protection of fixed and settled law ; and while the crown was invested with a larger and simpler revenue than it formerly enjoyed, it was restricted from irregular aids and arbitrary exactions. Such, at least, were the principles of that system of which the gradual rise and development corresponded with the decline and fall of the feudal establishments. But although the British constitution was now generally leavened with these liberal principles, it was not entirely pervaded by them, and still continued to be defaced by some traces of feudal prerogative and arbitrary power. The convenience of the crown and the unprotected condition of common mariners preserved, in particular, the prerogative of impressment from more than a partial abolition ; and though the vessels of merchants were exempted from arbitrary appropriation to the public service, the persons of seamen continued to be subjected to the hardship of this peculiar liability. A striking instance, among many others, of the unequal respect entertained by the English laws for the property of the rich and the lives of the poor ! So late as the nineteenth century, Great Britain has still continued to preserve, in the impressment of sailors, a practice which even those who defend it on the tyrannical plea of necessity have acknowledged, nevertheless, to be a flagrant outrage on popular liberty, and a violation of the principles of the British constitution.

The ministers of the crown, in conformity with opinions which they obtained from the attorney and solicitor-general of England, had repeatedly asserted the legitimacy of extending the practice of impressment to the American provinces ; but, aware of the determined, though silent, opposition with which the colonists and their assemblies withstood this pretension, they very rarely attempted to carry it into effect. The governors of Virginia ventured occasionally to issue proclamations authorizing the impressment of mariners ; which, though they attracted no open comment from the assembly or the planters, were still so far from commanding acquiescence, that, in every one of the few instances in which impressment was attempted,

it was resisted and defeated by popular interference.¹ Till now, no attempt was ever made to introduce this odious and arbitrary practice among a people so jealous of their liberties as the inhabitants of New England ; and the British government, notwithstanding the haughtiness of its pretensions, was practically contented with making occasional demands of levies of men for the supply of its armaments from the New England States, and had no reason to complain of the inefficacy of these requisitions. But, unfortunately, the English ministers neglected to inculcate on their naval commanders the same cautious forbearance of which they themselves perceived the expediency ; and Commodore Knowles, who was stationed at this time with some English ships of war at Nantasket, in Massachusetts, having lost a number of his sailors by desertion, bethought himself of repairing the loss and recruiting his crews by a vigorous act of impressment at Boston. [November 17, 1747.] For this purpose, he detached his boats to the town at an early hour in the morning, and, taking the people by surprise, not only seized all the seamen that were found in the vessels lying in the harbour, but, with the indiscriminating violence that usually attends the impress service, swept the wharves, and carried off a great many apprentices to ship-carpenters and working landmen. At London, such an act of power might have been safely perpetrated, and the victims of it would have obtained little sympathy from their countrymen ;² but at Boston it produced a burst of popular indignation so violent, that the frame of the established executive government tottered and sank beneath its fury.

¹ As America was the quarter of the British empire in which this practice was first resisted, so an American was the first writer by whom its indefensible injustice was demonstrated. The arguments by which it is commonly defended were refuted in a masterly manner by Dr. Franklin, in his *Remarks on Judge Foster's Apology for Impressment*.

Either a nation must have virtually lost its independence, or its political system must be unjust and defective, when it cannot offer sufficient inducements to persuade its people voluntarily to undertake its defence.

² Yet the most popular national song in England addresses mariners in this well known couplet : —

“ We freely invite you, *not press you like slaves* ;
For who should be free but the sons of the waves ? ”

Nothing can exceed the rapture of patriotic exultation with which this song is applauded in the crowded theatres of London during a French war, and at the very time when the Thames is covered with press-gangs.

All the inhabitants of the town were astonished and provoked ; but the rage of the working classes was perfectly uncontrollable. A numerous concourse of these persons, hastily seizing whatever arms they could find, repaired to the governor's house to demand satisfaction from some of the captains of the British squadron who happened to be there at the time. These officers, arming themselves with carbines, expressed their determination to preserve their liberty or lose their lives ; and a scene of bloodshed would have ensued, but for the address of a number of sedate persons, who, mixing with the multitude, prevailed with them to refrain from breaking into the house. A deputy sheriff, at the same time, attempting with more zeal than discretion to exert his authority for the restoration of order, was seized by the populace, carried away in triumph, and impounded in the stocks ; where the rueful aspect of magisterial dignity, partaking the penance which it was accustomed to inflict, excited a degree of merriment that tended to cool the general choler. But when the evening came, and no tidings were received of the restoration of the impressed men, the public rage broke forth with redoubled violence and uproar ; and several thousands of people, assembling around the town-house where the General Court was sitting, assaulted the doors and windows of the building with stones and brickbats, and clamorously demanded that either their countrymen should be restored, or the English officers detained as hostages for their recovery. The governor, trusting to his popularity, ventured to address the exasperated multitude from the balcony of the town-house ; and in a prudent and conciliating speech declared his disapprobation of the impressment, pledged his utmost endeavours to obtain the discharge of every one of the inhabitants who had been carried off, but withal mildly reprov'd the irregular proceedings of his auditors. Several wealthy and respectable citizens addressed the populace in the same strain, and entreated them to disperse and quietly await the result of the deliberations of the assembly. But the rioters, it has been supposed, were secretly encouraged by some persons of consideration, more willing to impel popular violence than to abide an open responsibility for its excesses, and were thus rendered the tools of superior craft, while they were aban-

done at the same time to the unrestrained mastery of their own excited passions.

Deaf to the moderate counsels of the governor and the other orators by whom he was supported, they insisted with obstinate vehemence that the seizure and restraint of the English officers who were in the city was the only effectual method to procure the release of their fellow-townsmen. Shirley, escorted by a company of his friends and certain of the principal inhabitants, then retired with some difficulty to his own house, while the violence of the people was diverted to a different quarter by a report that a barge belonging to one of the English ships had just arrived in the harbour. Rushing tumultuously to seize it, they dragged a huge boat through the streets with as much ease and expedition as if it had been cleaving the water ; and, having exhibited it in front of the governor's house, set fire to it and destroyed it. Next morning, the militia of the province were summoned to assist the governor in quelling the popular commotion ; but their sympathies were all on the side of their countrymen, and they declined to appear in array. The insurgents now succeeded in securing the persons of the English officers who were on shore ; and having planted a guard over some of them, they engaged others by their parole not to return to their ships without leave from the people. Shirley, finding that his authority was suspended, took refuge in the castle, whence he wrote to Commodore Knowles, representing the confusion into which he had plunged the province, and urging the immediate release of the persons impressed. But Knowles at first refused to hearken to any terms of accommodation, until his officers were permitted to rejoin him ; and even threatened to bombard the town, if they should be longer detained. He offered also to send a strong body of marines to assist Shirley in reducing the rioters ; an offer which the governor had too much sense and prudence to accept.

The assembly, meanwhile, were greatly perplexed. At first, they showed a disinclination to interfere in a controversy in which the provocation received by the people and the vindictive outrage committed by them were so nearly balanced ; and were probably afraid of increasing the popular irritation by

an ineffectual attempt to control it. It was not long, however, before they perceived the impropriety of leaving the governor unsupported in a struggle in which his conduct was entirely blameless. Some persons of high spirit, who had counselled him to remain at his post, and who, perhaps, regretted the inculcation which the popular cause sustained from the predicament in which he stood, began now angrily to question if his retirement should not be construed into an abdication of his functions. Perceiving the danger of farther indecision, and probably judging that the public fervor was spent, the assembly passed a series of resolutions, proclaiming that the conduct of the insurgents¹ was repugnant to municipal government and order [November 19, 1747] ; requiring all officers, civil and military, to render their instant and utmost aid to discourage and extinguish the popular tumult ; pledging themselves with their lives and estates to support the authority of the governor ; and engaging to adopt every possible means of redressing the injury by which the existing disorders were produced. The council, at the same time, issued a mandate for the liberation of the naval officers who were put in ward by the insurgents, and declared them to be under the special protection of the government. As soon as these proceedings were known, the popular ferment began to subside, and the insurgents to disperse. A few hours after, a general meeting of the inhabitants of Boston was convoked ; and though many persons openly protested against all measures opposed to the present spirit of the people, as tending to encourage a repetition of the arbitrary act which Knowles had committed, yet more moderate counsels prevailed with the majority ; and resolutions were adopted, which, while they expressed an indignant sense of the insult that the province had sustained from the British commodore, condemned the lawless and tumultuous violence by which the government was trampled under the feet of the populace. On the following day, the tranquillity of the town was complete-

¹ From the terms of this official act it appears that a part of the insurgent force was composed of *negroes*. Notwithstanding the language now employed by the Massachusetts assembly, "there is reason to believe," says Burk, "that this assembly, like that of Virginia, winked at the popular excesses." It is plain, from a letter of Shirley, quoted by this writer, that the governor himself believed that the rioters were secretly encouraged, though not openly countenanced, by the principal inhabitants of Boston.

ly restored ; the militia, of their own accord, repaired to attend the governor at the castle, and, in the midst of a numerous concourse of approving citizens, reconducted him, with much parade, to his own house. Knowles soon after released the men whom he had impressed, and departed with his squadron, to the great satisfaction of the colonists. No attempt was made by the provincial authorities to punish any of the insurgents ; nor was any resentment openly expressed by the British government at the resolute and successful opposition by which its pretensions were resisted and defeated.¹

In the following year [April, 1748], peace was restored between Britain, France, and Spain, by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, — the most inglorious and impolitic compact to which Britain acceded since the Revolution of 1688. It was stipulated that all conquests on every side should be restored ; and the effect of this provision was, that the valuable acquisition of Cape Breton was surrendered to France,² in return for territorial restitutions of which only the empress queen of Hungary and the States General of Holland reaped the advantage. This arrangement produced the most painful surprise and mortification in New England, where the people complained that a possession of the highest importance to their interests, the acquisition of their bravery, and the first conspicuous trophy of American glory, was sacrificed for the benefit of Germany and Holland. But if the substance of the concession was disadvantageous to America, the accessory provisions by which it was fortified were no less dishonorable to Britain ; for, in deference to the jealousy of the French and their impatient eagerness to regain Cape Breton, the British king agreed to send two Englishmen of rank and distinction to France as hostages for the due fulfilment of their sovereign's engagements. The treaty, indeed, betrays the strangest disregard of the interest and dignity of Britain. The right of English ships to navigate the American seas without liability to search and detention was not even alluded to ; although this claim was the original

¹ Hutchinson. Burk.

² We have witnessed similar instances of restitution, on the part of the British court, — of Canada, which was conquered in 1629 by Sir David Kirk, and of Nova Scotia, which was subdued in 1654 by Cromwell.

source of the hostilities between Britain and Spain. The encroachments of the French on the territory of the Six Nations, and their grand project of connecting, by a chain of military posts, their settlements on the rivers St. Lawrence and Mississippi, were passed over with a silence which might be construed as importing acquiescence in those formidable pretensions. The limits of Nova Scotia were left in the same state of uncertainty which had already supplied occasion of quarrel; for the adjustment of them was again remitted to the experienced inefficacy of the discussions and negotiations of commissaries, to be named by the French and British kings, — with this most absurd proviso (which might well seem the suggestion of a satirist of both parties), “that all things shall be replaced on the footing on which they were *or ought to have been* prior to the commencement of hostilities.” In short, after a war which proved calamitous and distressing to every quarter of the British empire, and advanced the national debt of Britain to the sum of eighty millions sterling, the nation concluded a peace by which she parted with the single dear-bought prize that her arms had won, without procuring in return the slightest national advantage, the redress of any part of the injury of which she had justly complained, or the recognition or additional security of any one of her rights which had been previously invaded. Not one of the belligerents was a gainer by the war. To all of them the termination of it was advantageous, except to Britain, where the reasons and purposes for which it was originally undertaken seemed to have been entirely forgotten.

The cession of Cape Breton, however disagreeable to the inhabitants of New England, added force to the claim, which for some time they had urged at the British court, for reimbursement of the expenses attending the enterprise by which that island was conquered. Some members of the ministerial cabinet for a while contended that it would be a sufficient indemnification, if a sum were granted adequate to the redemption of the bills issued by the provincial governments on account of the expedition, at their depreciated value. But Bolla, one of the provincial agents, exposed the unfairness of this proposition, and clearly demonstrated that the depreciation

of the value of these bills was as effectually a charge incurred by the people as if a corresponding proportion of the bills themselves had been retired from circulation by taxes ; and, strenuously insisting for the original value of the bills, rejected all proposals of compromise. The British minister finally acceded to his demand ; and the reimbursement of the New England States was sanctioned by an act of parliament.¹ In conformity with the desire of some wise politicians of Massachusetts, the amount of the indemnity awarded to this province was remitted in silver and copper money ; and a vigorous and successful attempt was now at last made to retire all the provincial bills of credit from circulation, and to substitute a metallic in place of a paper currency. [1749.] Though it was manifest that the fluctuating value of paper money was productive of great injustice and inconvenience,² and that with its depreciation the morals of the people were proportionally corrupted, this change was not accomplished without an obstinate opposition, in which a band of stock-jobbers, traders on borrowed capital, and other individuals who extracted a partial advantage from the public detriment, were supported in their selfish policy by popular ignorance and credulity. In some tumultuous assemblies that took place in Boston and its neighbourhood, a popular cry was raised that paper money was the only advantageous currency for the poor, because it was not worth hoarding ; and that silver and gold would fall entirely to the share of the rich, and be either exported or hoarded, without descending among the laboring classes, who must either

¹ Stat. 21 George II., Cap. 23. There was accorded by this act, to Massachusetts, £183,649 2s. 7d. ; to New Hampshire, £16,355 13s. 4d. ; to Connecticut, £28,863 19s. 1d. ; and to Rhode Island, £6,322 12s. 10d. These sums fell far short of the entire expense that the colonies had incurred ; and much larger sums were granted by the same act to indemnify the expenses of the empress queen of Hungary, the king of Sardinia, the Duke of Brunswick, and other European allies of the British court.

² "A single fact, recorded in a note to a sermon preached on the fast-day, 1748, by the Rev. Mr. Appleton, of Cambridge, gives an impressive view of the depreciation, with its baneful effects. An aged widow, whose husband died more than forty years before that time, had three pounds a year settled on her instead of her dower ; and that sum would at that day, and at the place where she still lived, procure toward her support two cords of wood, four bushels of Indian corn, one bushel of rye, one bushel of malt, fifty pounds of pork, and sixty pounds of beef. In 1748, she could not purchase more than one eighth part of that amount of the necessaries of life. And this, adds the humane preacher, is, in a measure, the situation of many widows in the land." Holmes.

be deprived of employment or accept commodities at an adjusted price as the wages of their labor. A majority of the assembly, however, persisted in the necessary measures for restoring the currency of the province to a healthy state ; yet not without apprehensions of some formidable commotion of a deluded populace instigated by crafty and interested counsellors. It was the less difficult at this time to excite disturbance in New England, on account of the number of persons recently disbanded from the military force collected during the war, and who did not readily resume their interrupted habits of sobriety and industry. But the fears of the wise and the hopes of the dishonest proved, happily, groundless. A feeble spark of insurrection was instantly smothered by a general expression of contempt and derision. The people very soon perceived that it was as easy for a frugal, industrious man to obtain silver as it had been to obtain paper ; and, passing from one extreme to another, they expressed ere long a decided aversion to paper currency even on the most limited scale. However, about two years after, the British government judged it expedient to secure the permanence of this innovation, and prevent the recurrence of the relative evil, by a parliamentary interposition, which, on account of its professed object, seems not to have awakened any jealousy in the colonists. The act of parliament for this purpose was confined to the States of New England,¹ of which the several assemblies were commanded to call in and discharge all the bills of credit they had issued, and prohibited from ever again issuing such bills, except with a circulation limited to the current year, and after sufficient provision for discharging them within that period. Any governor, whether appointed by the crown or elected by the colonists, who should ratify an act of assembly derogating from the parliamentary statute, was to incur the penalty of a perpetual incapacity of public office. An exception was, however, admitted in the case of extraordinary emergencies created by war or invasion. But it was declared absolutely unlawful for

¹ The American historians, in general, have erroneously represented this act as extending its provisions to all the colonies. It was in the year 1763, that bills of credit were abolished in all the American provinces by the act of parliament, 4 George III., Cap. 34.

the provincial assemblies ever after to admit, as they had heretofore done, bills of credit as a legal tender for the payment of private debts.¹

Notwithstanding the indifference displayed by Great Britain for the wishes and the advantage of her American colonies, in the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, yet the surprising exertions which they made during the war strongly aroused her attention to their situation and prospects, and to the interests of her own dominion over them; and many important schemes and considerations relative to America were entertained and pondered about this time in the British cabinet. The situation of Nova Scotia demanded immediate attention, which was additionally invited by a project that was suggested for combining the improvement of the British dominion in this province with the benefit of a great number of English soldiers and sailors, whom the peace deprived of subsistence, and for whose behoof justice and policy equally demanded that some public provision should speedily be made. Even if the commissaries of France and England should succeed in preventing a renewal of disputes between the two nations, by a peaceful and satisfactory adjustment of the boundaries of Nova Scotia, something more was necessary to render the British dominion secure in this province, where the inhabitants, it was well known, were discontented with their subjection to Britain, and cherished both the desire and the hope of being reunited to the French monarchy. Upon every rupture or dispute between the two crowns, they communicated intelligence to their countrymen in Canada, and intrigued in behalf of France with the adjacent Indian tribes; and during the late war they had been manifestly

¹ Stat. 24 George II., Cap. 53 (A. D. 1751). Smollett. Millot. Hutchinson. Minot's *Continuation of the History of Massachusetts*. Burk. Belknap. Trumbull. The comparative value of the currencies in the several British colonies, in the year 1748, appears from the following table (extracted from Douglass) of their exchanges with London.

For £100 sterling,	New England	1,100 currency.
	New York	190
	East Jersey	190
	West Jersey	180
	Pennsylvania	180
	Maryland	200
	Virginia	120 to 125
	North Carolina	1,000
	South Carolina	750

on the point of breaking into open revolt. A scheme was now projected by certain of the English ministers, and especially by the Earl of Halifax, president of the Board of Trade and Plantations, of introducing a British population into this territory, by encouraging a number of the disbanded officers, troops, and ships' crews of the late war-establishment to repair thither as permanent settlers. The parliament approved this design, and voted in the first instance towards its execution the sum of forty thousand pounds. Advantageous terms of settlement, being tendered by the government, were accepted by nearly four thousand adventurers, who, with their families, were transported at the public expense to the Bay of Chebucto, where they built the town of Halifax. They were accompanied by Colonel Edward Cornwallis, who was appointed governor and commander-in-chief of Nova Scotia. The French colonists were allowed peaceably to remain in the country; and having pledged themselves to submit to the English government, with the qualification that they should never be required to bear arms against France, they came to be denominated French Neutrals. The British parliament continued annually to repeat pecuniary grants for the support of this settlement, which, in the year 1755, had cost the nation upwards of four hundred thousand pounds. Its establishment was viewed with much apprehension by the French, who, though they did not think proper to promulgate their displeasure, clandestinely employed emissaries to incite the Indians to harass the British colonists with hostilities calculated to deter them from extending or improving their plantations. Partly from this cause, and doubtless in part from the character of the first settlers and the habit they contracted of depending on Britain for support, they made little progress either in agriculture or in fisheries; and the colony, subsisting chiefly on the sums expended by the military and naval forces maintained there by the parent state, almost entirely failed to answer the expectations of its projectors.¹

But the policy which the British government was to pursue with regard to the older colonial dependencies of the empire

¹ Smollett. Hewitt. Holmes.

in America was a subject of deeper interest and nicer care. The unexpected vigor that New England displayed in the conquest of Cape Breton, the glory that she gained by that achievement at a time when the British arms were unsuccessful in every other quarter of the world, and the spirit of independence which kept pace with her rising strength, excited some perplexity. The colonies, it was evidently seen, were rapidly advancing from national pupilage to manhood ; and the inquiry was naturally suggested, Should not their institutions undergo some corresponding alteration ? Should not a new system of law, policy, and mutual correspondence be devised, to supply between the parent state and her dependencies the fast relaxing bonds of relative strength and weakness ?¹ From the measures and propositions of the British ministers, it may be inferred that their minds were occupied with these considerations ; though they neither projected nor executed any scheme of policy worthy of the emergency, and probably at length calmed their solicitude by confusedly trusting to the influence of habitual subjection on America, or by figuring with fond hope a postponement of the inevitable crisis, and of the necessity of making provision for it. Indeed, it is certain that the British ministers were but imperfectly acquainted with the real growth and condition of the American provinces, where the continual formation of new settlements, which long remained unknown, or little known, to the parent state, and impervious alike to her arms and authority, not only enlarged the colonial population, but fostered sentiments of independence, hardy habits, and enterprising dispositions. No wise, enlarged prospective system in relation to America was ever cultivated in the British cabinet, where colonial affairs (except in the emergencies of war or negotiation with rival European powers) were customarily viewed rather as the province of the Board of Trade, than as included within the higher departments of state policy ; and, however dissatisfied the ministers might be from time to time with the aspect of this important branch of the British empire,

¹ "The colonies," said Lord Chancellor Northington, some years after, in the British House of Lords, "are become too big to be governed by the laws they at first set out with. They have, therefore, run into confusion, and it will be the policy of this country to form a plan of laws for them."

they were embarrassed in the projection of extensive schemes by their inexperience in the conception and application of relative general principles, and their imperfect acquaintance with local details.

The most obvious means of fortifying the British dominion over the colonies, and rendering their progressive resources tributary to the strength of the supreme government of the empire, was to carry into practical effect the pretended right of subjecting America to the direct taxation of the parliament of Great Britain. If this had been accomplished, the resources of the American provinces and the industry of their inhabitants would have been mortgaged for ever to the support of regal and aristocratical grandeur and of European luxury and wars ; nor could a more effectual process have been devised for the subjugation of liberty in England itself. We have seen a proposition to tax America originate in Britain so early as the close of the seventeenth century,¹ and the same project subsequently reproduced and recommended to the British nation by Sir William Keith.² When the war with Spain broke out in the year 1739, Keith's scheme, which, among other particulars, proposed "*that the duties of stamps upon parchment and paper in England be extended by act of parliament to all the American plantations,*" was suggested to Sir Robert Walpole, as a politic device for evading the necessity of imposing additional taxes on England. Walpole is said to have received the proposition with a smile, and to have negatived it by this memorable reply : — " I will leave *that* to some of my successors who have more courage than I have, and are less friends to commerce than I am. It has been a maxim with me, during my administration, to encourage the trade of the American colonies in the utmost latitude ; nay, it has been necessary to pass over some irregularities in their trade with Europe ; for, by encouraging them to an extensive growing foreign commerce, if they gain five hundred thousand pounds, I am convinced that in two years afterwards full two hundred and fifty thousand pounds of their gains will be in his Majesty's exchequer, by the labor and produce of this kingdom, as immense

¹ Appendix I., *ante*.

² Book VIII., Chap. II., *ante*.

quantities of every kind of our manufactures go thither ; and as they increase in their foreign trade, more of our produce will be wanted. This is taxing them more agreeably to their own constitution and ours." In 1748, three years after the New England enterprise against Cape Breton, the project of taxing America was again resumed, and so far entertained by the British cabinet, that Pelham, the prime minister, communicated it to the various provincial governments, and desired to know their opinions with regard to it. Of the answers which they returned no farther account has been preserved than that they assigned such reasons as induced the ministry to abandon the design.¹

Another measure, which succeeded the relinquished purpose of taxing the American colonies, was the repetition of an attempt, of which we have already witnessed several instances, to invade their chartered systems of liberty. A bill was introduced into the British parliament, in the year 1748, by which all the American charters were abolished, and the king's instructions to the provincial governors were rendered equivalent to legal enactments. During the disputes that prevailed between Massachusetts and the crown, about twenty years before, this stretch of arbitrary power might have been attempted with some likelihood of success. But the opportunity was irretrievably lost ; and now, every circumstance in the relative situation of Britain and America combined to increase the odium of the project, and the efficacy of the resistance which it was calculated to provoke. To the valor of the Americans Britain was indebted for the principal, and almost the solitary achievement, by which her wounded honor was avenged and her military reputation supported in the late war ; and it was by the conquest which the Americans had won for her that she was enabled to purchase a peace. A more unsuitable juncture for an attempt to bereave them of their liberties could hardly be imagined. The bill, as might easily have been foreseen, was vigorously opposed by the provincial agents in England, and especially by the agents of Massachusetts ; its injustice to America, and the danger which

¹ *Political Register for 1767.* Gordon. Burk. Walsh's *Appeal*.

British liberty would incur from the establishment of such a precedent, were clearly demonstrated; and the ministers of the crown, after a protracted discussion, finding the obstructions to their wishes insurmountable, withdrew the bill, and once more desisted from the impolitic controversy which they had so rashly renewed. The act of parliament which was passed shortly after for the regulation of bills of credit in New England, and to which we have already had occasion to advert, was believed by some American politicians to have been a device of petty pride on the part of the British court to cover the disgrace of this defeat.¹ In default of a parliamentary abrogation of the American constitutions, an attempt was made by the British ministers to effect a practical enlargement of the royal prerogative in several of the provinces, by the arbitrary strain of the powers which they conferred and of the policy which they dictated in the commissions and instructions to the provincial governors who were appointed by the crown. Of this encroaching policy, which produced no other effect than to exercise the defensive spirit of liberty in America and rouse it to greater vigilance and jealousy, some instances will present themselves in the progress of our narration.²

The most politic of all the schemes that were at this time [1749] proposed in the British cabinet was a project of introducing an ecclesiastical establishment, derived from the model of the church of England, and particularly the order of bishops, into North America. The pretext assigned for this innovation was, that many non-juring clergymen of the Episcopal persuasion, attached to the cause of the Pretender, had recently emigrated from Britain to America, and that it was desirable to create a board of ecclesiastical dignitaries for the purpose of controlling their proceedings and counteracting their influence; but doubtless it was intended, in part at least, to answer the ends of strengthening royal prerogative in America, — of giving to the state, through the church of England, an accession of in-

¹ Minot.

² "While the ministers of kings were looking into their laws and records to decide what should be the rights of men in the colonies, nature was establishing a system of freedom in America, which they could neither comprehend nor discern." Williams's *History of Vermont*, Preface.

fluence over the colonists, — and of imparting to their institutions a greater degree of aristocratical character and tendency. The views of the statesmen by whom this design was entertained were inspired by the suggestion of Butler, Bishop of Durham, and were confirmed and seconded by the zealous coöperation of Secker, Archbishop of Canterbury, and the society instituted for the propagation of the gospel. This society had received very erroneous impressions of the religious character of the colonists in general from some worthless and incapable missionaries which it sent to America; and Secker, who partook these impressions, had promulgated them from the pulpit in a strain of vehement and presumptuous invective. Such demeanour by no means tended to conciliate the favor of the Americans to the proposed ecclesiastical establishment. From the intolerance and bitterness of spirit disclosed by the chief promoters of the scheme, it was natural to forebode a total absence of moderation in the conduct of it.

The bare announcement of it provoked, accordingly, the utmost alarm and the strongest expressions of aversion and opposition in New England, of which the popular assemblies and leading politicians had for many years constituted themselves the guardians of the general liberties of America. So faithfully did they sustain this generous part on the present occasion, that their opposition was not relaxed by an offer to exempt New England from the operation of the projected measure. And yet it was one of the New England States, and one of which the inhabitants in general were noted for the zeal with which they continued to cherish the primitive sentiments, opinions, and institutions of the Puritans, which supplied the only considerable party in America by which the project of the English ministry was cordially approved. In the year 1722, Cutler, the rector of Yale College, in Connecticut, and several other clergymen of this province, suddenly and publicly retracted their previous profession of the validity of Presbyterian or Congregational ordination, proclaimed themselves converts to Episcopacy, and declared their conviction that no ordination to ecclesiastical functions could be validly derived except from the bishops of the church of England. This schism excited at the time no small astonishment and

mortification in the colony. A public conference and disputation took place in presence of the governor between the heads of the provincial clergy who adhered to their primitive ordinances and the seceders to Episcopacy; and the issue of the discussion was, that about half of the votaries of Episcopacy were reconverted to their original opinions, — a result which was regarded with disappointment in Connecticut, on account of its inadequacy to the general desire, — but which must impart a feeling of satisfaction and surprise to all who are familiar with the common issue of such polemical debates. It is less surprising, that those of the dissidents, whom the controversy failed to reduce to their original system, clung with increased ardor and tenacity to the novelties they had embraced. By their arguments and example, the Episcopal party in Connecticut had subsequently gained an accession of votaries less remarkable for their numbers than their zeal, and by whom the proposed legal establishment of Episcopacy in America was now hailed with the liveliest expressions of hope, joy, and approbation.¹

But the general voice of New England, supported and echoed by the dissenters from the established church in Britain, overpowered the purpose both of the British and the American partisans of Episcopacy. It was in vain that the British court endeavoured to silence the opposition of some of the most popular clergymen of New England by tempting offers of ecclesiastical preferment; and no less ineffectual were the assurances, subsequently tendered, that the innovation should not extend to New England, and that the jurisdiction of the bishops appointed in the other colonies should be strictly limited to the clergy, and should not be permitted to extend to the laity. These propositions — even backed by the offer, that, if the authority of the bishops was recognized in America, their emoluments would be provided (in the first instance, at least) by the British treasury — could neither

¹ About three years after (in 1752), there were in Pennsylvania nine Episcopal ministers and twenty-seven Episcopal churches; in New Jersey, eight Episcopal ministers; in New York, twelve; in Connecticut, eight ministers and sixteen churches; in Rhode Island, five ministers and six churches; in Massachusetts, ten ministers and ten churches; and in New Hampshire, one minister and one church. Holmes.

subdue nor mitigate the fixed aversion with which the people of New England, and especially the citizens of Massachusetts, contemplated a project of intrusting any degree of power to a body of ecclesiastical functionaries dependent on the crown. They regarded with apprehensive jealousy that principle of increase inherent in every form or description of power irresponsible to the general will, and peculiarly incident, as they justly imagined, to ecclesiastical authority. Some of the leading personages in the British cabinet were at length induced to express an open dissent from the opinions of their colleagues on this important point, — fearing, perhaps, that Episcopal grandeur and authority in England would be endangered by the exemplification of a simpler and more primitive model of Episcopacy in America. After much passionate discussion, fruitlessly prolonged by Secker and the partisans of his opinions, the cabinet of Britain finally abandoned, or at least postponed, the design of giving a legal establishment to Episcopacy in the colonies.¹

The issue of all these discussions and deliberations was, that the British government, instead of altering, continued to pursue, its wonted narrow, unimproved colonial policy even more strictly than before ; and the only new measure that was carried into effect was one which extended the operation of that principle which had long been openly avowed, that the colonists were a dependent people, existing for the benefit of the inhabitants of Great Britain, and that it was lawful and expedient that they should be restricted to pursuits tending to the enrichment of the parent state, and excluded from every branch of industry, however beneficial to themselves, which might render them the competitors of British merchants and manufacturers. The importation of iron from America had been discouraged hitherto by heavy duties ; while a great part of the supply of material on which the manufacturers of iron in Britain depended was procured by an expensive and disadvantageous commerce with Sweden. The idea was now suggested of drawing these supplies from America, where, instead of the money annually remitted to Sweden, British goods

¹ Trumbull. Minot. Holmes. Gordon. *Annual Register* for 1765.

would be accepted in exchange ; and with this politic view there was combined the less liberal purpose of checking a successful attempt which had recently been made to establish the manufacture of iron in New England. [1750.] An act of parliament¹ was accordingly passed, authorizing the importation of pig and bar iron from the American colonies, duty-free, into the port of London ; but the exemption was strictly confined to this port ; and the iron conveyed thither, in virtue of the act, was not to be afterwards transported farther than ten miles into the country, except for the use of the royal dock-yards. The object of this restriction was to prevent any diminution of the profits which the proprietors of mines and woods in England derived from the supplies of mineral produce and fuel which they afforded to the country manufacturers of iron. In the metropolis and its immediate neighbourhood, the manufacturers depended entirely on foreign supplies. In concurrence with provisions so cautiously adapted to the protection of every British interest, it was ordained, for the farther advantage of the iron manufacture in Britain, that no mill or other engine for slitting or rolling of iron, nor any plating-forge, nor any furnace for making steel, should be erected or continued in any of the American colonies, under the penalty of a heavy fine, and of the destruction of the machine as a public nuisance.² Four of the machines prohibited by this arbitrary law were already established in Massachusetts.³

There was one class of reasoners in the parent state, whose views seem to have been not ineffectually pressed upon the ministers of the crown, and who predicted the continued submission of the colonies as the result of a constant and ample importation of negro slaves into America. We have seen under what conditions Queen Elizabeth permitted the rise of

¹ Stat. 23 George II., Cap. 29. See Note IX., at the end of the volume.

² The other commercial statutes passed about this time in relation to America are noticed in the close of Book IX., *ante*.

³ Smollett. Minot. "Our nailers," says an American writer, in reference to this period, "can now afford spikes and large nails cheaper than from England." Douglass. It is remarkable that Hutchinson invariably refrains from noticing the introduction of laws discreditable to the justice and liberality of British policy. He alludes in general terms to the existing commercial restrictions, in the close of his second volume, and exhorts his countrymen to patience and filial resignation to the will of the parent state, whose protection they enjoyed.

the British slave-trade, with what fatal vigor it increased, and how soon the mask of benevolence to the negroes was discarded. Britain had since become the greatest slave-trading state in the world, and was as desirous to obtain a monopoly of this as of other branches of commerce. In the year 1745, there was published at London a treatise, entitled, *The African Slave Trade, the Great Pillar and Support of the British Plantation Trade in America*. "If the negro trade," says the author of this treatise, "be thrown into the hands of our rivals, and our colonies are to depend on the labor of white men, they will either soon be undone, or shake off their dependence on the crown of England. For white men cannot be obtained so cheaply, nor the labor of a sufficient number be had for the expense of their maintenance only, as we have of the Africans." "Were it possible," he continues, "for white men to answer the end of negroes in planting, must we not drain our own country of husbandmen, manufacturers, and mechanics? Might not the consequence be, that our colonies would interfere with the manufactures of these kingdoms, as the Palatines attempted in Pennsylvania? In such case, indeed, we might have just reason to dread the prosperity of our colonies; but while we can supply them abundantly with negroes, we need be under no such apprehensions."¹

It was not in the parent state alone and her ministerial cabinet that an increased attention was now directed to the political relations between Britain and America, and to the manifest truth, that a change in these relations was inevitably portended by the great alteration which had already taken place, and which every year was enlarging, in the relative strength and weakness of the two countries. Superior power and fancied expediency, instead of the everlasting principles of justice, had been the basis of a great part of the colonial policy of the parent state; and while this basis was continually becoming more narrow and insecure, the policy to which it administered

¹ This is an anonymous work; the author merely styling himself *A British Merchant*. There is a copy of it in the British Museum. It was probably in answer to it that there was published, a few years after, a pamphlet (noticed in Clarkson's *History of the Abolition of the Slave-trade*) entitled *An Essay in Vindication of the Colonies of America*, and containing the most indignant reprobation of slavery, and of the pretence that necessity or sound policy could ever be opposed to the dictates of Christianity.

support was rendered more, instead of less, burdensome and illiberal. These important facts, and their consequences, were perceived and pondered by the Americans; and views and speculations corresponding to their altered condition and prospects exercised the thoughts of some of their leading politicians. We have seen how early the idea of independence was suggested to the colonists by the jealous suspicions or interested artifice which prompted Nicholson, Quarry, and other partisans of royal prerogative in America, as well as the members of the Board of Trade in England, to impute to them the design of realizing this idea; and how uniformly the policy of the British government was calculated to recommend independence to the Americans, by associating it with the strongest impressions of dignity and interest. The grand political error of that selfish and harshly domineering system, first disclosed by the *Navigation Act*, was, that, in proportion to its endurance, it became no less dangerous to pursue than to abandon it. To pursue it was to increase an offensive burden on the colonists, in proportion to their capacity of resisting its imposition;—and this was the course which the parent state actually embraced. To abandon it was to make a humiliating avowal of injustice, or a dangerous concession to the strength of a people whose weakness had been abused;—a stretch of magnanimity unexampled in the conduct of any sovereign state. It was wittily and argumentatively replied to the American complaints of the increasing exactions of Britain, about twenty years after this period, by a distinguished champion¹ of the British policy, that *the ox has no reason to complain of the aggravation of the burdens that were imposed on the calf*. Of this similitude, which was much admired at the time, the most significant feature consists in the frank avowal that the Americans were regarded by the politicians of Great Britain as an inferior and dependent race of beings.² The hypothetical complaint of the ox would be well deserving of attention, if time had developed in him a faculty superior to brutal strength; and the increased

¹ Dr. Johnson.

² Dean Swift, in one of his works, describing the contemptuous treatment of Ireland by some of its British rulers, says, "They looked down upon that kingdom as if it had been one of their colonies of outcasts in America."

pressure of the yoke of servitude upon him would be equally unjust and impolitic, if his ability and inclination to resist were proportioned to his capacity of enduring it.

In the actual condition of North America, at this period, there were two circumstances unfavorable to national independence, or at least to its speedy attainment. One of these was the defect of harmony, union, and concert among the several provincial governments; the other was the vicinity of the French settlements, where there existed at once a people unfriendly to the British colonists, and a government hostile, for its own sake, to American liberty. The diminution of religious bigotry, and the increasing sense of common interest, had for many years contributed to foster a principle of union and mutual dependence among the respective provinces, which the languor and seeming indifference of Britain toward all that related to the defence and security of her colonies tended farther to promote. Frequently had she disappointed them of her promised succour, and taught them first to indulge hopes of safety and glory, and then to refer the accomplishment of these hopes to their own unaided valor and force. As early as the year 1643, we have seen¹ a federal league established among the States of New England, for the purpose of increasing the vigor and efficiency of their national strength. About a century afterwards, the project of a kindred institution, embracing all the American colonies, was suggested by a writer, whose work, entitled "A Description of the English Province of *Carolana*, by the Spaniards called *Florida*, and by the French, *La Louisiane*," was published in the year 1741. Daniel Coxe, the author of this tract, was the son of Dr. Coxe who in the end of the seventeenth century speculated largely in colonial property, and acquired a considerable share of the proprietary interest in New Jersey, as well as of some more dubious claims to the territory comprehended within the colonial establishments of the Spaniards in North America.² In the preface to his work, he proposed, for the more effectual defence of the British settlements against the hostile vicinity of the French and the Indians, "that all the colonies appertaining to the

¹ Book II., Chap. III., *ante*. ² See a note to Book IV., Chap. I., *ante*.

crown of Great Britain on the northern continent of America be united under a legal, regular, and firm establishment ; over which a lieutenant or supreme governor may be constituted and appointed to preside on the spot, to whom the governors of each colony shall be subordinate." " It is farther humbly proposed," this writer continued, " that two deputies shall be annually elected by the council and assembly of each province, who are to be in the nature of a great council or general convention of the estates of the colonies ; and by the order, consent, or approbation of the lieutenant or governor-general, shall meet together, consult and advise for the good of the whole, settle and appoint particular quotas or proportions of money, men, provisions, &c., that each respective government is to raise for their mutual defence and safety, as well as, if necessary, for offence and invasion of their enemies ; in all which cases the governor-general, or lieutenant, is to have a negative, but not to enact anything without their concurrence or that of the majority of them."

In this plan (which is developed at considerable length and supported with great force of argument by its author)¹ we behold the germ of that more celebrated, though less original project, which was again ineffectually recommended by an American statesman in the year 1754 ; and which, not many years after, was actually embraced by his countrymen and rendered instrumental to the achievement of their independence. It was only some of the more enterprising politicians of America that were favorable to the scheme of a federal union of the several provinces. The people in general were disinclined to this change, from which they apprehended an increase of the efficacy of royal prerogative, and an encroachment on their separate and peculiar provincial usages and institutions. They reasonably concluded that the authority of the crown would be invigorated by an arrangement which must render its administration more simple and compact ; and they naturally regarded with suspicion a project which had been supported by Nicholson and other politicians devoted to the interests of arbitrary power. A remarkable instance occurred, about this time, of the

¹ Coxe's *Carolana*, Preface.

keen and even morbid jealousy of British aggression, which prevailed in New England. The assembly of Virginia having undertaken a general revision of its legislative code, a similar proceeding was recommended by the king to the assembly of Massachusetts [1751], where all parties united in acknowledging that it *might* be productive of results the most advantageous and desirable. Many of the old and yet subsisting laws of Massachusetts contained provisions which were now universally admitted to be injudicious and inconvenient, and which every body would have been glad to have subjected to legislatorial expurgation, if a satisfactory assurance could have been obtained that no attempt would be made to give a further extension or insidious bias to the application of this principle. But the majority of the assembly entertained a rooted jealousy of the designs of the crown, and finally refused to comply with the king's suggestion, from the apprehension that some latent purpose of encroachment was couched beneath it.¹

The subjugation of the French settlements in America was an object to which the most ardent wishes of the British colonists were directed ; and when we consider the scenes of danger and calamity to which they had been exposed by the vicinity of this rival power and people, it seems almost superfluous to inquire for any farther cause of the wishes which they cherished. But when we find that the Americans firmly entertained the conviction that Britain was restrained, by regard to the stability of her own colonial dominion, and by apprehensions of American independence, from attempting the reduction of the French settlements, — it seems not unreasonable to conclude that their own wishes and views were secretly flowing towards the same object which they figured to themselves as the source of contemplative alarm to the parent state. More than forty years before the present period, there prevailed, as we have already seen, in the minds of some of the colonists of New England, a violent jealousy and mistrust of the real designs and policy of Great Britain with respect to the French empire in America. The sentiments of these persons, indeed, were

¹ Hutchinson.

doubtless in part the passionate suggestions of irritation and disappointment. But they had subsequently been propagated in the other American provinces, and embraced as the result of deliberate reflection by many intelligent men. Some insight into the opinions of the Americans on this point is afforded by the interesting work of Peter Kalm, a sensible and accomplished Swede, and the friend of his illustrious countryman, Linnæus, who visited North America in 1748, and for two years after continued to reside and travel in several of the provinces, and to explore and record the most interesting particulars of their condition. In the various States which he visited, he conversed with the persons most distinguished in the walks of science, literature, and politics ;¹ and the views which he has expressed in the following curious passage represent the impressions he derived from the communications of those individuals.

“It is of great advantage to the crown of England,” says this writer, “that the North American colonies are near a country under the government of the French, like Canada. *There is reason to believe that the king never was earnest in his attempts to expel the French from their possessions there*, though it might have been done with little difficulty ; for the English colonies in this part of the world have increased so much in their number of inhabitants and in their riches, that they almost vie with Old England. Now, in order to keep up the authority and trade of the mother country, and to answer several other purposes, they are forbidden to establish new manufactures, which would turn to the disadvantage of the British commerce ; they are not allowed to dig for any gold or silver, unless they send it to England immediately ; they have not the liberty of trading to any parts that do not belong to the British dominions, excepting some settled places ; and foreign traders are not allowed to send their ships to them. *These and some other restrictions occasion the inhabitants of the English colonies to grow less tender for their mother country.* This cold-

¹ Among others, he conversed intimately with Dr. Franklin (Kalm's *Travels, passim*, and Franklin's *Correspondence*), — a circumstance, which, coupled with the strain of the passage quoted in the text, may be thought to justify the surmise that has been entertained, that Franklin, in subsequently recommending the conquest of Canada to the British nation, foresaw consequences from this measure very different from those which he argumentatively predicted.

ness is kept up by the many foreigners, such as Germans, Dutch, and French, settled here, and living among the English, who commonly have no particular attachment to Old England. Add to this, likewise, that many people can never be contented with their possessions, though they be ever so great, and will always be desirous of getting more, and of enjoying the pleasure which arises from change ; and their over great liberty and their prosperity often lead them to licentiousness. *I have been told by English subjects, and not only by such as were natives of America, but even by those who had emigrated from Europe, that the English colonies in North America, within the space of thirty or fifty years hence, would be able to form a state by themselves, entirely independent of Old England.* But as the whole country which lies along the seashore is unguarded, while on the land side it is harassed by the French in time of war, these dangerous neighbours are sufficient to prevent the connection of the colonies with their mother country from being quite broken off ; *the English government has, therefore, sufficient reason to consider the French in North America as the best guardians of the submission of their colonies.*"¹

From the work of this philosophic traveller, and other sources of information, we are enabled to glean some interesting particulars illustrative of the internal condition of the North American provinces in the middle of the eighteenth century. Population had of late years advanced with a vigorous pace in all the States, but with peculiar and astonishing rapidity in Pennsylvania, which in the year 1749 contained two hundred and twenty thousand, and four years afterwards two hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants. In 1755, the population of this province amounted to two hundred and eighty thousand.² A considerable part of this increase was derived from Germany, from which in the summer of 1749 no fewer than twelve thousand emigrants arrived at Philadelphia. In the year 1751, there emigrated to Pennsylvania four thousand three hundred and

¹ Kalm. This was published in Sweden several years before the British conquest of Canada.

² In Moheau's admirable work, *Recherches sur la Population, &c.*, it is stated, that Dr. Franklin described the population of Pennsylvania as amounting to one million in the year 1751. If Franklin ever gave any such exaggerated description, it must have been done to serve some political purpose.

seventeen Germans, and one thousand persons from England and Ireland. The greater number of these emigrants consisted of people who sold their service for a term of years, in order to defray the expense of their transportation. Sometimes aged parents pledged the labor of their children for this purpose,—converting thereby what proved a burden in Europe into a means of independence in America ; and in many instances, German emigrants, who brought with them a competent stock of money, chose to commence their American career as indented servants, in order to acquire cheaply some experience of the country and acquaintance with its language. A penalty was inflicted on any clergyman celebrating the marriage of an indented servant without the consent of his master, or of a negro with an inhabitant of European extraction. The Quakers, in general (so Kalm says), had become rather less than more scrupulous than at first with regard to the employment of negro slaves ; “and now,” he adds, “they have as many negroes as other people.”¹ Yet many of the inhabitants condemned slavery as repugnant to Christianity ; and some peculiarly zealous Quakers in Philadelphia had set the example of liberating their slaves, after the enjoyment of their service for a certain time.

The comparatively gentle treatment of slaves in this part of America may be inferred from the facts, that very few were now imported from abroad, and that great numbers were reared on the plantations of the colonists. A planter killing his negro was declared by law guilty of a capital felony ; but no instance had ever occurred of the actual execution of this dictate of even-handed justice. A few years before, a master who had murdered his slave was persuaded by the magistrates to depart from the province, that they might not be compelled to afford the negroes the triumph of witnessing his punishment. A

¹ Thomas Chalkley, a minister highly and justly renowned among the Quakers for his active and unwearied zeal and his profound and ardent piety, published a journal of his numerous travels and ministerial labors, from the beginning till about the middle of the eighteenth century, in all the American States, and in several of the West India Islands, where he appears to have accurately noted and conscientiously rebuked every existing evil, *except negro slavery*. It is curious to contrast his steady, resentful retrospect to the ancient persecution of the Quakers in New England, with his blindness to the actual oppression inflicted by the institution of negro slavery, and the existing support which this institution derived from the accession of his fellow-sectaries.

strong though silent testimony against negro slavery, and against every principle hostile to the interest and happiness of the human race, was afforded by the members of the Moravian brotherhood, who for many years had resorted in large and increasing numbers to Pennsylvania. Count Zinzendorf, the president or bishop of this religious society, visited America in 1742. "His behaviour," says Kalm, "led many of the Pennsylvanians to believe that he was disordered in his intellects," — a reproach which the apostolic zeal of the first Christian pastors attracted, and which the count seems to have equally merited by the rare elevation of his views, the fervor of his piety, and the energy of his labors. By him and his associates were founded the Moravian missions among the Indians, which were afterwards pursued with the most admirable virtue and success.¹ In their neatness, and the excellence of their general economy, the settlements of the Moravians are allowed by a Quaker writer to have surpassed those of all the other inhabitants of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia, in the year 1749, contained eleven places of worship ;² and two years after, its population was estimated at seventeen thousand persons, of whom six thousand were negroes. Three printers were established in this town ; and three newspapers, two in the English, and one in the German tongue, were published there every week. Governor Thomas, having resigned the presidency of Pennsylvania, was succeeded in 1748 by James Hamilton, a native of the province, and son of the celebrated lawyer and patriot, Andrew Hamilton.³

New Jersey, in the year 1738, contained, as we have seen, 47,637 inhabitants, of whom 3,981 were slaves. In 1745, the population of this State amounted to 61,403, including 6,079 Quakers and 4,606 slaves. We have already remarked the peculiar usage by which the practice of the medical art among this people was confined almost entirely to women. Of another strange peculiarity in their manners the following account has been preserved by Kalm. The widow of a bankrupt was held

¹ See Note X., at the end of the volume.

² Namely, — one Church of England, two Presbyterian, two Quaker, one Baptist, one Swedish, one Dutch Lutheran, one Dutch Calvinist, one Moravian, and one Roman Catholic.

³ Douglass. Kalm. Proud. Loskiel. Warden. Holmes.

(whether by legal ordinance or merely by popular opinion does not appear) to be liable for the debts of her deceased husband, and to retain that liability even after contracting another matrimonial engagement, unless she were married to her second husband with no other habiliment on her person than her shift.¹ "The Swedish clergymen here," says Kalm, "have often been obliged to marry women in this light and unexpensive dress. This appears from the registers kept in the churches and from the accounts given by the clergymen themselves. I have likewise often seen accounts of such marriages in the English newspapers which are printed in these colonies."²

The population of the province of New York, which, in the year 1732, amounted to somewhat more than sixty thousand persons, had advanced in 1749 to one hundred thousand. In 1756, it amounted to 110,317 persons, including 13,542 slaves. Kalm celebrates the handsome and substantial architecture of the houses in the town of New York; and describes the walls of the apartments as "quite covered with all sorts of drawings and pictures in small frames." In the year 1754, and in imitation of a similar institution at Philadelphia, a classical and philosophical academy was established at New York. The language and habits of the primitive colonists of this province subsisted in the most entire preservation at Albany, where the great bulk of the inhabitants were Dutchmen by birth or descent. They were noted in particular for extreme attention to niceness and cleanliness of domestic accommodation, for diligence in business, a close frugality, and the consequent accumulation of wealth. But their enrichment did not exclusively flow from sources so respectable. The temptations incident to the Indian trade, in which they were deeply engaged, depraved their characters and manners with sentiments and practices the most sordid and disgraceful.³ In no other quarter of British or French America were the frauds with which the Indians re-

¹ From the words of Kalm, it may be doubted whether this absurdity was imported into New Jersey from Sweden or from England. That the notion, and its relative usage, though totally unsupported by law, has prevailed till a very late period in some parts of England is certain. In the end of the year 1827, a widow was married in her shift to a respectable tradesman or shop-keeper in a country church in England.

² S. Smith. Kalm.

³ A great deal of hazard was incurred by the European traders, who were often defrauded and sometimes murdered by the Indians. Loskiel.

proached the Europeans so extensively and systematically practised. The merchants of Albany gloried in the success and dexterity of their commercial chicane ; and as they practised equal dishonesty and displayed equal selfishness in their intercourse with their fellow-subjects both in New York and the other provinces, they were the objects of general aversion and disdain. This representation of the character of the Albanians was repeated to Kalm, the traveller, in every part of America that he visited, and was confirmed by his own personal observation of that people. We have already remarked their dishonorable conduct towards the inhabitants of New England in the war which preceded the treaty of Utrecht. They had pursued the same policy during the late war ; and not only purchased the plunder of Massachusetts and New Hampshire from the Indian allies of the French, but encouraged these marauders, by the most tempting offers, to persevere in their depredations. The people of New England were so incensed at these transactions, which the Indians were at no pains to conceal, that they threatened, in case a new war should break out, that their first enterprise would be the sack and destruction of Albany. It must be remembered, however, that these charges, though generally, were not universally, applicable to the population of Albany, where some of the principal inhabitants, untainted by the prevailing depravation of principle and manners, were distinguished by a rare and therefore more notable superiority in equity, politeness, benevolence, and public spirit. " Outside the doors of houses here," says Kalm, " are seats, which in the evening are covered with people of both sexes ; but this is rather troublesome, as those who pass by are obliged to greet every body, unless they will shock the politeness of the inhabitants of this town."¹

Whether from a settled design of encroachment on American liberty, or from mere carelessness or arrogance on the part of the British government, it had been the invariable practice of the court since the Revolution to invest the governors of New York with an extraordinary, and indeed unconstitutional, plenitude of official power. Nay, the practice was still con-

¹ Warden. Kalm. Holmes.

tinued of delegating to them in their commissions the command of the militia of Connecticut. The governors were in this manner led to entertain very erroneous ideas of their actual authority, and were continually engaged in disputes with the provincial assembly. "Our representatives," says the historian of New York, "agreeably to the general sense of their constituents, are tenacious in the opinion, that the inhabitants of this colony are entitled to all the privileges of Englishmen; that they have a right to participate in the legislative power; and that *the session of assemblies here is wisely substituted instead of a representation in parliament*, which, all things considered; would at this remote distance be extremely inconvenient and dangerous. The governors, on the other hand, in general entertain political sentiments of a quite different nature. All the immunities we enjoy, according to them, not only flow from, but absolutely depend upon, the mere grace and will of the crown. It is easy to conceive that contentions must naturally attend such a contradiction of sentiments."¹

New York at this time possessed a greater share of commerce than any other town in North America. [1751.] Boston and Philadelphia approached in this respect the most nearly, and, indeed, very closely to it. The merchants of New York and Philadelphia were continually in debt to their correspondents in England. No discovery of coal seems yet to have been made in any of the provinces; but, during the short possession that the British enjoyed of Cape Breton, it was ascertained that an abundant supply of this mineral existed in the bowels of that island. It was customary for ships returning without any other freight from England to America, to repair first to Newcastle, and take in cargoes of coals, which served as ballast during the voyage, and afterwards fetched some profit in the colonies; especially at New York and in South Carolina.²

¹ W. Smith. This author quotes the following censure of the notions of the New York assemblies, from a pamphlet published in England in 1752, and entitled *An Essay on the Government of the Colonies*:—"I would advise these gentlemen for the future to drop those parliamentary airs and style about liberty and property, and keep within their sphere. The king's commission and instructions are their charter. If they abuse his Majesty's favors, they are but tenants at will."

² "We have known coals, salt, and other articles, brought by way of ballast, sold cheaper in Charleston than in London." Hewit.

Kalm has dwelt with benevolent satisfaction, and the surprise of a European, on the comfort and plenty that prevailed universally among the agricultural population of Pennsylvania, Delaware, New Jersey, and New York, — the only British colonies, unfortunately, to which his personal observation extended. There, every inhabitant of the country, even the humblest peasant, possessed an orchard stocked with a profusion of the richest fruit. The lively relish with which these strong, healthy people must have enjoyed such natural luxuries was far from restraining the liberality of disposition which the bounty of their soil was fitted to inspire ; and passengers were everywhere, by common consent, entitled to a gratuitous and unstinted indulgence in the produce of gardens which they might happen or choose to approach. So sacred was the right, that the most churlish and sordid owner dared not question it ; and so common was its exercise, that it attracted remark from nobody but strangers. Thus a table of hospitality was spread over all the face of the land ; and the sense of property was rendered a less selfish and exclusive principle in America than in Europe.¹ But the cheapness and fertility of the land was everywhere productive of a careless and slovenly system of husbandry.

It was the universal practice of farmers to cultivate a portion of their ground as long as it would produce a crop without manuring ; and then to leave it fallow, or convert it into pasture, while they transferred their culture to new spots which had been covered with woods from time immemorial. “ In a word,” says the Swedish traveller, “ the corn-fields, the meadows, the forests, the cattle, &c., are treated with equal carelessness ; and the English nation, so well skilled in these branches

¹ A similar practice was prescribed to the ancient Jews. Deut. xxiii. 24. “ We wondered, at first, very much,” says Kalm, “ when our guide leaped over the hedge into the orchards, and gathered some agreeable fruit for us. But our astonishment was still greater, when we saw that the people in the garden were so little concerned at it as not even to look at us. We afterwards found very frequently, that the country people in Sweden and Finland guarded their turnips more carefully than the people here do the most exquisite fruits.” This learned Swede has omitted to remark a notable distinction between the condition of the peasantry in America and those of his own country, where no person in the rank of a peasant was then permitted to acquire landed property or transmit it to his children. These rights, which the laws of Sweden confined to the order of nobility, were enjoyed by every Swedish farmer who emigrated to America.

of husbandry, is with difficulty recognized. . We can hardly be more lavish of our woods in Sweden and Finland, than they are here ; their eyes are fixed upon the present, and they are blind to futurity. I was astonished, when I heard the country people complaining of the badness of their pastures ; but I likewise perceived their negligence, and often saw excellent plants growing on their own grounds, which only required a little more attention and assistance from their unexperienced owners. I found everywhere the wisdom and goodness of the Creator ; but too seldom saw any acknowledgment or adequate estimation of it among men." The cattle and the crops of the American farmers sustained frequent and considerable damage from wild beasts and vermin. Laws still continued to be passed by the assembly of New York, offering rewards for the destruction of panthers, wolves, and wild-cats. In Pennsylvania, such devastation was committed on the crops of maize by the squirrels, that a premium of threepence was offered by the provincial government for every squirrel's head ; and in one year alone the sum of eight thousand pounds was expended by the treasury of Pennsylvania on this account. The other provinces were not exempt from the inconvenience occasioned by the multitude and the ravages of squirrels, of which no fewer than eleven thousand five hundred and eighty-eight were destroyed within ten days by a party of hunters at Providence, in the year 1759. But the most formidable obstructions which American husbandry has ever encountered must be referred to the instrumentality of the insect creation. The extensive and irresistible ravage inflicted by various tribes of flies compelled the farmers, in several of the provinces, to abandon the cultivation of pease, and in others the culture of wheat. In some parts of North America, by the operations of a particular description of caterpillar, whole forests have been utterly destroyed.¹

Massachusetts, which in the year 1731 contained one hundred and twenty-two thousand six hundred inhabitants, had increased the number of its people in 1742 to one hundred and sixty-four thousand, and in 1753 to two hundred and twen-

¹ *Laws of New York from 1691 to 1751.* Kalm. *Annual Register for 1759.*

ty thousand. The population of the province of Maine, which was subject to the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, has been estimated by one statistical writer at ten thousand in the year 1750. The population of Rhode Island, which in 1730 amounted to 17,935 persons, of whom 1,648 were slaves, had increased in the year 1748 to 32,773, including 4,373 slaves. In 1753, the total population of Rhode Island was thirty-five thousand. At the close of the seventeenth century, Connecticut contained thirty thousand, and New Hampshire ten thousand inhabitants. In the year 1749, the population of New Hampshire was thirty thousand; and in the year 1753, that of Connecticut one hundred thousand. In 1756, the population of Connecticut amounted to 131,805, including 3,587 slaves.¹

A strong ebullition of religious zeal and fervor had been excited, of late years, in many parts of New England, by the instrumentality of some remarkable preachers, of whom the most celebrated were Jonathan Edwards, whom we have already noticed, and George Whitefield, the Methodist. The labors and success of these great men and their associates are related with much minuteness of detail by several of the provincial historians. The warmth of religious sentiment and diligence in religious duty, which their ministry promoted in a surprising degree, were decried, as the impulse of frenzy and delusion, by a numerous party of the clergy and laity in New England, as well as in the other American States; and, unfortunately, in some instances, these charges derived support from the weakness and imprudence, the disorderly demeanour and enthusiastic extravagance of sentiment, betrayed by various individuals who professed to have undergone a spiritual renovation.² Probably some fraud and hypocrisy, and doubtless much error and delusion, contributed to obstruct and discredit the propagation of an influence which no candid and well informed Christian will otherwise denominate than a signal dispensation of divine grace to North America. The controversies and dissensions occa-

¹ Adams's *Twenty-six Letters on Important Subjects*. Warden.

² "Satan, upon this occasion," says a New England writer, "acted a double part. He first attempted to stop the good work by open opposition; and afterwards, transforming himself into an angel of light, produced a flood of enthusiasm and false religion under various names." Eliot's *New England Biography*.

sioned by this religious *Revival*, as it was termed, were prolonged for a great many years in New England ; but a consequence at once more lasting and beneficial was visible in the general animation of piety and virtue among a considerable body of the people.¹

Various causes, however, contributed to promote impressions of a different tendency among the inhabitants of New England. To some of these causes, and especially to the pernicious influence of an unstable currency, we have already had frequent occasion to advert. The peace which followed the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle was attended with evils as well as advantages ; or rather, it gave scope to evils which the war had prepared. The disbanded officers and soldiers formed in every province a class of men, who, having been for a time released from steady industry and trained to the parade and bustle of military life, were averse to return to more humbly laborious occupations. To the officers of the provincial regiments the change was rendered the more unacceptable, from their not enjoying the advantage of half-pay. Their reluctance to embrace the sober habits and toils of civil life was increased by the hopes they indulged, and which were too soon fulfilled, of resuming their military occupation. The late war had not been conducted to a decisive issue, and the causes by which it was kindled were evidently not removed. As an antidote to the loose and idle manners of which those persons set the example, some benevolent citizens of Boston, with the aid of the provincial government, established, in 1749, a society for the promotion of industry and frugality ;² and to repair the loss of

¹ Jonathan Edwards's *Narrative of the Surprising Work of God in the Conversion of many hundred Souls, &c.* Trumbull, Vol. II., Chap. VIII. This chapter of Trumbull's work contains the most candid and sensible account I have ever seen of an interesting portion of the ecclesiastical history of New England.

A similar revival of religious zeal occurred about the same period in various parts of Scotland ; and much correspondence on the subject took place between the Scottish and the American ministers. Gillies' *Life of M' Laurin*.

² "The anniversary of the establishment of this society was celebrated with much solemnity in the year 1753. In the afternoon, about three hundred young female spinsters, decently dressed, appeared on the common at their spinning-wheels. The weavers also appeared cleanly dressed in garments of their own weaving. One of them, working at a loom on a stage, was carried on men's shoulders, attended with music. An immense number of spectators was present." Holmes. A spectacle far more interesting to a benevolent and philosophic mind than a tilt or tournament.

people occasioned by the war, the assembly at the same time granted four townships of land for the use of such foreign Protestants as might be disposed to emigrate to Massachusetts, and offered to transport them gratuitously in a frigate that belonged to the province. It has been recorded, as a proof of the altered tastes and manners of some of the inhabitants of Massachusetts, that in the year 1750 there occurred the first instance of a dramatic entertainment in New England. A tragedy was performed at a coffee-house in Boston by two young Englishmen, assisted by some of their American comrades. The revel its participators intended to have kept secret from the public ; but, in the pressure which occurred at the door to gain admittance to the spectacle, a disturbance was created which rendered the affair notorious. The legislature, in consequence, promptly interfered to forbid the repetition of such practices ; and for the preservation of that system of economy and sobriety which had been transmitted to the present generation from their forefathers, a law was passed prohibiting all theatrical performances. The reasons assigned in the preamble of the act are “ the prevention and avoidance of the many great mischiefs which arise from public stage-plays, interludes, and other theatrical entertainments, which not only occasion great and unnecessary expenses, and discourage industry and frugality, but likewise tend greatly to increase impiety and a contempt for religion.”¹

A discovery was made, several years before this period, in New England, by Josiah Franklin, father of the American Pythagoras, of a method of attracting the resort of herrings from the sea to a river which they had never visited before. Observing, that, of two rivers whose mouths were not far asunder, one was regularly frequented at the spawning season by the fish, of which none were found in the other, he was struck with the

¹ Belknap. Minot. Holmes. A theatre was at last established in Boston in the year 1794. Holmes. But the ancient spirit and manners of New England, though expelled from this sanctuary, still continued to flourish among the sober and prosperous citizens of Salem ; and when the manager of the Boston theatre applied to the proprietors of the market-house of Salem for leave to exhibit a dramatic entertainment in the upper story of this building, he was informed by them in reply, *that they would sooner set it on fire.* Dwight. In Connecticut, perhaps the most moral and happy of the North American States, theatrical performances continued to be prohibited by law in the commencement of the nineteenth century. Ibid.

notion that the herrings were directed by some secret instinct to spawn in the same channel where they were originally hatched ; and verified this conjecture by catching some of them, and depositing their spawn, which he extracted, in the bed of the neglected river, which from thence afforded a plentiful supply of fish.¹ In this simple, ingenious, and useful experiment we recognize the parentage of Benjamin Franklin's understanding, the qualities by whose early impress the foundations of his mind were laid and the bent of his genius imparted.

In the New England States, as well as in the other provinces of America, the general simplicity of manners, and the facility of supporting a family, rendered celibacy exceedingly rare, and promoted early marriages.² The value of life was increased, and sentiments of patriotism were cherished, by the general diffusion of a substantial and respectable happiness. A numerous offspring was prized as a treasure, not dreaded as an incumbrance ; and regard for the public welfare combined with motives of domestic felicity in prompting to the multiplication of a happy race. Kalm has preserved a list, extracted from American newspapers, of cases that occurred in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New England, illustrative of the most obvious and interesting effect of this state of society, — the great number of their own descendants by which many of the colonists beheld themselves surrounded. From this and from other accounts it appears to have been not uncommon for parents to see their progeny amount to sixty, seventy, or eighty persons. Sometimes a hundred persons were assembled in the house, and entertained at the table of their common progenitor. Various cases occurred of individuals who beheld their children,

¹ Kalm.

² The general effect produced by the early marriages of the Americans on human manners, character, and constitution is a very curious, and, as far as I know, unexplored, subject of inquiry. Franklin wrote a well known essay on early marriages ; but it contains no observations on the experience of his own country, and is entirely speculative and conjectural. Some observations far more valuable and interesting upon this subject occur in Moheau's *Recherches sur la Population de la France*. Williams, the historian of Vermont, asserts that the early marriages of the Americans prove remarkably conducive to domestic happiness and the general welfare of society. Young people marry, not because they possess a competent estate, but because they know that they can procure it ; and their choice, undepraved by pride or ambition, is determined solely by love and esteem. Other writers have maintained that the early marriages of the Americans are prejudicial to the growth and improvement, bodily and mental, of the human frame.

grandchildren, great-grandchildren, and also the offspring of these last, to the number of two, three, and sometimes more than five, hundred souls.¹

Doubtless, a beneficial effect on human character and disposition was produced by this great extension of parental feeling and family ties. An aged New Englander, living in a small town or in the country, could hardly cast his eyes on a group of persons in which he would not recognize a kinsman. It was common in New Hampshire, says Belknap, to see three generations tilling the ground in the same field. Whenever the son of a New Hampshire farmer could build a log-house, he be-thought himself of marrying ; and the young women of the province willingly embraced the early offers of these swains to promote them to the management of a household and a dairy. A frugal and industrious farmer was easily able to provide settlements for his elder sons, and furnish them with the means of supporting themselves ; he commonly bequeathed the paternal farm to the youngest son, who continued to reside with him and support his declining years. A great deal of fellow-feeling and cordial warmth of neighbourly regard prevailed in all quarters of New England. When a farmer's house was burned, it was a sacred and inviolable law of kindness among his neighbours, that they should unite to assist him in building and stocking a new one.

A less amiable, though very natural sentiment, that generally prevailed at this time among the people of New England, was a strong detestation of the Indian race, whose ravage and cruelty in war they had so often experienced. The comparative humanity which the Indians displayed in the late war conduced very little, if at all, to soften the animosity with which they were regarded by the colonists. In New Hampshire and the eastern parts of Massachusetts, many persons openly protested, that these savages, having conducted their hostilities after the example of wild beasts or robbers, were not entitled to the common privileges of humanity, and ought not to be suffered to shelter themselves from the punishment of their crimes by treaties which they never observed any farther than

¹ Kalm. Belknap. Dwight's *Travels*. Hutchinson. *Annual Register for 1761 and for 1763*. In the commencement of the nineteenth century, Dwight met with a New Englander who had seen his descendants amount in number to more than 1,500.

accorded with their own convenience, interest, or caprice. Several Indians were killed and wounded after the peace ; and the provincial governments, having vainly endeavoured to bring the perpetrators of these outrages to justice, exerted themselves more successfully to pacify the injured tribes by liberal presents and professions of regret.

Soon after the termination of the late war, many persons applied to Benning Wentworth, the governor of New Hampshire, for grants of land in the western part of this province. Wentworth, presuming that New Hampshire ought to extend as far westward as Massachusetts, assigned to these applicants, in the year 1749, a township, six miles square, which received the name of Bennington, and was situated twenty-four miles eastward of Hudson's River, and six miles northward of the line of Massachusetts. For several years after, he continued, under the same supposition, to confer grants of land on the western side of Connecticut River. The settlements which afterwards ensued from these transactions gave rise to much controversy between New Hampshire and New York, — by which the jurisdiction of the territory was disputed, — and to the most violent disputes between the planters of the territory and the government of New York. These settlements were for several years distinguished by the name of *The New Hampshire Grants*, and in process of time expanded into that flourishing community which was subsequently formed into the separate province of Vermont.¹

A dissension which arose in Massachusetts in the year 1749 resembled in its commencement, though not in its issue, the more famous controversy that occurred some time after in the parent state between the British House of Commons and the electors of Middlesex in relation to the celebrated demagogue, John Wilkes. Allen, a member of the provincial assembly, having vented some coarse disrespect against Governor Shirley, in one of his speeches, and declined to make what the house considered a proper apology, was expelled from his seat for this instance of contumacy. His constituents, who were satisfied with the apology which he had tendered, instantly reelect-

¹ Belknap. Williams's *History of Vermont*. See Note XI., at the end of the volume.

ed him ; but the house declared that he was incapable of being chosen, and that the election was void. The people, however, were not disposed to sanction this assumed power of a single branch of the legislature to divest a citizen of his political rights. Allen was again elected ; and the house, though it had attempted to control, no longer presumed to resist, the general determination, but admitted him without farther demur.¹ The Massachusetts assembly so truly and substantially represented the sentiments and interests of the provincial population, that it could never regard the prevalence of deliberate popular will as a triumph over itself.

In the year 1750, we remark a transaction in which the government of Connecticut betrayed a notable departure from those principles of justice and moderation by which the usual course of its policy was characterized. The boundary line between this province and Massachusetts had been finally ascertained in the year 1713 ; and on this occasion it was arranged, by general consent, that the towns of Woodstock, Somers, Suffield, and Enfield, though included by the course of the line within the territory of Connecticut, should yet remain subject to the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, by whose people they were founded and reared ; and an equivalent was given for the soil, by an assignment of unoccupied lands within the province of Massachusetts. The government of Connecticut accepted this equivalent, and afterwards sold the lands of which it consisted, and applied the price of them to the use of the colony. The inhabitants of the towns above mentioned were content to remain under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, till, in the course of the late war, they perceived that their taxes were much heavier than the corresponding burdens imposed on the people of Connecticut. At the close of the war, they conceived the idea of bettering their situation and evading their share of the contribution for liquidating the public debt of Massachusetts, by transferring their allegiance to Connecticut ; and with this view petitioned the assembly of Connecticut to admit them within its jurisdiction. Their application was communicated to the government of Massachusetts, which, remembering the unfortunate issue of its previous disputes with New Hampshire and

¹ Minot.

Rhode Island, betrayed no small perplexity and hesitation, and, instead of vigorously asserting its rights, proposed a compromise. Encouraged by these symptoms of timidity, the inhabitants of Woodstock and the three other towns openly disclaimed submission to Massachusetts, and resisted the collectors of its provincial taxes. The assembly of Connecticut, perceiving that Massachusetts was employing inefficient and indecisive measures to reduce the towns to obedience, now openly countenanced their revolt, and at length, by a formal act, declared them united to the colony of Connecticut. It was urged, in defence of this proceeding, that the inhabitants of the four towns derived from the original provincial charter an indefeasible right to the jurisdiction of Connecticut, of which the legislature of this province was incompetent to deprive them, and of which the race of inhabitants in 1750 could not be divested by the act of their predecessors in 1713. Upon this specious pretext Connecticut supported her claim; and yielding, without reserve, to the suggestions of that interested policy to which she had unworthily listened, retained her usurped jurisdiction, without even offering to restore the equivalent formerly accepted for its renunciation, or making the slightest compensation of any kind to Massachusetts.¹

The invitation tendered to foreign Protestants, in 1749, by the assembly of Massachusetts, having induced a number of Germans to repair to this province, some popular and enterprising colonists were led to conceive the hope of enriching themselves and benefiting their country by transporting an additional number of German emigrants, and with their assistance

¹ Trumbull. Hutchinson. "I may very justly repeat," says Hutchinson, "the observation formerly made in a controversy between these two colonies, that communities or bodies of men are capable jointly of such acts as, being the act of any one member separately, would cause him to be ashamed." This is a favorite sentiment of Hutchinson, whose own most interesting experience was that of an individual opposed to communities or bodies of men.

Trumbull's account of this matter is very unsatisfactory. The patriotic partiality of this worthy man seems to have rendered it very difficult, if not impossible, for him to believe that the people of Connecticut, in a dispute with their neighbours, could ever be in the wrong. But the great end of history can never be answered by disguising or suppressing the errors into which exemplary men and virtuous communities may have been betrayed. The caution suggested by the frailties, no less than the emulation inspired by the virtues, of their forefathers is a valuable part of the inheritance of a nation; and history, which is the testament of time, should record with fidelity every particular of his bequest.

laying the foundation of manufacturing establishments in New England. The projection of this scheme was by no means creditable to the sagacity of its authors ; and the measures which ensued on it left a stain on their own and their country's honor. Instead of undertaking the enterprise simply as individuals, they proposed to render the assembly a party to it, and by their influence were unfortunately successful in inducing this body to entertain a correspondence with one Luther, a counsellor at law and a purveyor of emigrants in Germany. This correspondence, which commenced in mutual misapprehension, was productive of disappointment and disgrace. The assembly had intended to take no farther part in the project than might serve to forward the views of the individuals by whom the experiment was planned ; but Luther, and his countrymen, whom he persuaded to emigrate to Massachusetts, were induced to consider the assembly as principals in the negotiation, and pledged to insure the full measure of recompense and advantage by the proposition of which the emigrants were attracted. The private undertakers of the scheme made an attempt, with the assistance of these emigrants, to found a manufacturing town at Braintree, near Boston ; but finding the experiment not likely to succeed, they yielded to the first discouragement, abandoned their views and their German associates, and declined to fulfil engagements, which, though equitably due from themselves alone, their artifice or timidity had contrived, in appearance, to fasten upon the representative assembly of their country. But the assembly was not disposed to acknowledge such liability, and entirely repudiated the transaction thus unexpectedly deserted by its original promoters.

Governor Shirley, at this time, was in Europe ; having been appointed to act as one of the commissaries on the part of Britain, for arranging with France the limits of Nova Scotia ; but Phips, the lieutenant-governor, and several of the provincial counsellors and representatives, who regarded the honor of their country as inseparable from its interests, strenuously urged the assembly to pay the penalty of its negligence, and to fulfil the obligations, in which, whether deliberately or unadvisedly, it had been unfortunately involved. Their urgency was ineffectual. The assembly neither recognized its own responsi-

bility to the claims of the emigrants, nor enforced satisfaction of them from the individuals by whom it had been entrapped into this disagreeable predicament. Luther, who had incurred a considerable expense, was unable to obtain the slightest indemnification ; and the emigrants, bitterly lamenting their disappointment, were left to shift as they best could for themselves.¹ This faulty passage in the history of Massachusetts (to which a parallel has already appeared in the annals of New York, in 1737) suggests to the citizens and politicians of a republic the propriety of cultivating with peculiar care a nice sense of strict and continuous responsibility to the principles of honor ; without which, absolute power is divested of an important and salutary restraint, and regard to national interest is but selfishness exerted on an extended scale. When the indissoluble connection between the morality and the happiness of nations, as well as of individuals, shall be generally recognized, politics will become a generous science, and institutions of government the schools of every virtue.

Few particulars have been transmitted of the condition of Virginia and Maryland at this period. Of the entire population of Virginia, the only accounts, or rather estimates, that have been preserved, are manifestly and absurdly erroneous. Warden, for instance, asserts that it amounted, in the year 1749, to eighty-five thousand persons. And yet, from Jefferson's lists, it appears that the tithable inhabitants alone (that is, the white men above the age of sixteen, and the negro slaves, male and female, above the same age) amounted, in the year 1748, to 82,100. The population of Maryland, which, at the close of the seventeenth century, amounted to about thirty thousand persons, was found, in the year 1755, to have advanced to 153,564, including 42,764 negro slaves, 3,592 mulattoes, 6,870 voluntary indented servants, and 1,981 transported felons. More than two thousand negro slaves were annually imported into Maryland alone. In these, and the other Southern States where slaves abounded, much greater inequalities of condition were now visible among the planters, than in the more northern States, where, though slavery was tolerated, its actual prevalence was not extensive. Some of

¹ Hutchinson.

the planters of Virginia and Maryland possessed, each, no fewer than five hundred slaves ; and one Maryland planter possessed as many as thirteen hundred. Inequality of condition, promoted by the institution of entails, which had prevailed for some time in Virginia, generated in this province a class of aristocrats or patricians, who were regarded with considerable jealousy by the humbler but more numerous order of farmers or yeomen. The wealthy planters were generally unacquainted with business, which they disdained to study or pursue, and devoted to amusement ; and the greater part of the commerce of Virginia was conducted by adventurers from Scotland,¹ who, in many instances, found it easy to acquire considerable fortunes.

It was in the Southern States that Toryism, which, in America, signified a predilection for royal prerogative and an admiration of aristocracy and hereditary distinctions, possessed the most numerous votaries. There was none of the States, however, in which a party, more or less numerous, of this class of thinkers was not to be found. Probably there has never existed a single community of men, in the world, entirely pervaded by the love of liberty ; a sentiment which can never prevail in its highest force, or merit the name of a generous passion, except when united with the virtues of self-denial, humanity, moderation, and justice. In servile sentiments and practices there is much to flatter the natural inclinations of mankind ; to obey accommodates the indolence—to corrupt, and be corrupted, the avarice and ambition—of human nature. To regard with peculiar veneration one or a few individuals, lifted up by general consent and homage to a vast, though fanciful, superiority over the rest of mankind, ministers gratification to every shade and intermixture of human pride, vanity, and idolatry. Even in Pennsylvania, and in the bosom of a humble Quaker family, we find about this time the most ardent admiration of royalty expressed by the celebrated Benjamin

¹ I have been informed by my father, a native of Glasgow, in Scotland, that in his boyhood, which was prior to the American Revolution, it was common to hear adventurous lads in Glasgow say, "I will go out to Virginia." Many did actually go as storekeepers for mercantile houses in Glasgow, and in time became partners in these houses. Every planter bought his foreign commodities at one particular store, and consigned the produce of his plantation to the mercantile house in the parent state connected with this store. Glasgow engrossed at least a half of the North American trade, prior to the Revolution.

West, then a young lad, and for many years after a Quaker, who declared, as a reason for choosing the occupation of a painter, "that a painter was a companion for kings and emperors; and that, although none of these dignitaries were to be found in America, there were plenty of them in other parts of the world." Nay, we are told that the grave, sagacious, Puritan father of Dr. Franklin, who had himself emigrated from the hemisphere of royalty, used to stimulate the industry of his son by reminding him (with *literal* application of the words of Scripture), that a man who is diligent in his calling may hope to *stand before kings*, and to outgrow the gross fellowship of men of low degree.¹

In 1749, General Gooch resigned the government of Virginia, and returned to England, honored with the regret and benediction of a people over whom he had presided for twenty-two years. He received the dignity of a baronet from the crown in recompense of his services; and, till the end of his life, preserved a friendly correspondence with the Virginians. There was formed in the same year an association, composed of certain London merchants trading to Virginia and Maryland, and of a number of wealthy Virginian planters, which assumed the name of the Ohio Company, and obtained from the crown a grant of six hundred thousand acres of land adjacent to the river Ohio, together with a patent conferring the privilege of exclusive trade with the Indian tribes on the banks of that river. One object of this association was to undertake the execution of the politic scheme that had been suggested by Governor Spottiswoode, and to form settlements beyond the Appalachian Mountains, and connections of commerce with the Indians, which might stem the progress of the French occupations. Various grants of land in the same quarter were made soon after by the Virginian government to private adventurers, who were required to abstain from all encroachment on the privileges and possessions of the Ohio Company. The measures adopted by this company, in furtherance of the great designs which it undertook, were conducted with extreme

¹ *History of the British Dominions in America.* Jefferson's *Notes on Virginia.* Warden. Wirt's *Life of Henry.* Winterbotham. Galt's *Life of West.* Franklin's *Memoirs.* Holmes.

imprudence. The Indian tribes adjacent to the scene of its projected settlements were so unfavorably disposed towards the French, that a very little attention to justice and courtesy on the part of the directors of the company might have secured to it their friendship and assistance. But the directors, without ever soliciting the permission of the Indians or offering to purchase their rights to the soil, despatched agents to survey and assume possession of stations that might appear to them suitable to the company's purposes. These agents, too, whether of their own accord or in compliance with instructions from their superiors, declined at first to specify the purpose of their operations, and answered the inquiries of the Indians in a dark, mysterious manner, which excited the deepest alarm in their inquisitive and suspicious minds. The private traders of Virginia and Pennsylvania, who had begun to penetrate into this region and obtain a share of its commerce, were disgusted when they learned the exclusive privileges which were conferred on the company, and studiously fomented the jealousy which the Indians had already conceived.¹ Thus inauspiciously commenced the first systematic attempt of the English to check the rapid strides of the French dominion in America. That the French would take umbrage at the establishment and projects of the Ohio Company was easily foreseen; and with such a prospect, nothing could be more imprudent than the policy which aroused so much additional enmity and opposition.

We have already adverted² to the condition which South Carolina and Georgia had attained at this period. The population of North Carolina, which in the year 1710 amounted to six thousand persons, had in 1749 advanced to forty-three thousand. In this year a circumstance occurred, which was the means of introducing shortly after into North Carolina a considerable number of the most pious and industrious emi-

¹ Smollett. Holmes. Burk. "This project," says Burk, "afforded the justest uneasiness and offence to the natives, who saw that even the wilderness, whither they had retired, did not save them from the rapacity of their invaders. Their right to the lands might have been purchased for a small sum, prudently expended in nails, paints, blankets, and hatchets." The occupations of the French, consisting of bounded military positions, instead of spreading settlements, excited less jealousy in the Indians.

² Book IX., *ante*.

grants who had resorted to America since the first colonization of New England. The Moravian brethren had now formed large and flourishing settlements in Pennsylvania, where they pursued their secular occupations and their missionary enterprises with a success which kindled the emulation and attracted the resort of increasing numbers of their fellow-sectaries from Europe. A troop of these intending emigrants, admonished by the experience of their friends in Georgia, and informed, perhaps, of the controversy that prevailed in Pennsylvania respecting a military establishment, petitioned the British government for some pledge that a departure from their principles would not be required from them in America. An act of parliament¹ was accordingly passed in 1749, admitting the affirmation of Moravians in America as equivalent to an oath, and discharging them from liability to perform military service. This transaction, in which the Earl of Granville, who was then president of the council, took a share as a minister of state, naturally attracted his consideration as a proprietor of American territory. He conceived the hope of inducing a body of these peaceable and industrious men to colonize the large and almost vacant domain which was reserved to his family on the dissolution of the proprietary system in Carolina; and so successful were his negotiations for this purpose with the Moravian deputies who came to England to solicit the pledge of the British government, that very soon after a detachment of Moravians repaired from the principal station of the society at Bethlehem, in Pennsylvania, to North Carolina, where they founded a settlement to which they gave the name of Bethabara. They were subsequently joined by accessions of their sectarian associates, both from other parts of America and from Europe; and formed a society (says the historian of this province) which set an excellent example of the virtues of industry and temperance, and seemed, in spite of Indian wars and other adverse circumstances, to enjoy as much happiness as the lot of humanity admits. From North Carolina there were exported in the year 1753 upwards of sixty thousand barrels of tar, twelve thousand barrels of pitch, ten thousand

¹ 22 George II., Cap. 30.

barrels of turpentine, and about thirty thousand deer-skins, besides lumber and other commodities.¹

There assembled in 1751, at Albany, a convention consisting of Clinton, the governor of New York, commissioners appointed by the governments of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Carolina, and deputies who represented the Indian confederacy of the Six Nations. Bull, the commissioner from South Carolina, was attended to this congress by the king and other chiefs of the Catawba tribe or nation of Indians, between whom and the Six Nations a long and bloody war had prevailed. A peace was now concluded between these savage belligerents, by the mediation of their civilized allies.²

In conformity with an act of parliament adjudging the correction of the existing calendar, the new style of chronological computation was introduced in the year 1752 into the American provinces and every other part of the British dominions. From this time, the year, instead of beginning on the 25th of March, was computed from the first day of January. The third day of September was now dated the fourteenth; and a consistent change harmonized the reckoning of all the other days of the year. This reformation of the calendar, rendered necessary by the precession of the equinox, was decreed by Pope Gregory the Thirteenth in 1582; but though his decretal was readily obeyed in all countries where the Catholic faith prevailed, the Protestants had hitherto indulged an aversion to admit so important an innovation, which seemed to reflect credit on the wisdom and authority of the Roman pontiff.³

It was in the same year, that Dr. Franklin, having discovered the analogy between lightning and electricity, verified this grand conjecture by an experiment which excited the applause and admiration of the civilized world, and shed a brilliant ray of philosophic glory on his name, his country, and his age.⁴ The metaphysical and theological writings of Jonathan Edwards contributed about the same time to elevate the reputation of American genius, and convinced the scholars of Europe

¹ Warden. Williamson. Holmes.

² Drayton. Holmes.

³ Smollett. Holmes.

⁴ Franklin's *Memoirs*.

"With Franklin, grasp the lightning's fiery wing."

Campbell.

that America had already given birth to philosophers worthy to be acknowledged as the instructors of the old world, as well as the new. Symptoms of a rising or increasing regard for science and literature now began to appear in almost all the American provinces. The colleges of New England continued to flourish, and were enlarged; libraries, academies, and philosophical societies arose in these States, and in Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey, Virginia, and South Carolina. The progress of scientific research in America was facilitated by the friendly counsel and aid which its votaries received from the most distinguished philosophers in Europe, — among whom Linnæus, Sir Hans Sloane, and Peter Collinson¹ deserve an especial and honorable commemoration.

A taste for the study of botany and zoölogy was awakened in America by Mark Catesby, the English naturalist, who visited South Carolina in 1722, and, nine years after, published at London his *Natural History of Carolina and Florida*. These walks of science, than which none are more closely allied with moral virtue and temperate use of life, were now cultivated with ardor and success by Colden, an inhabitant, and afterwards lieutenant-governor, of New York, Glover and Clayton, Virginian planters, Garden, a physician in South Carolina, and other learned and intelligent men; but by none with greater genius and celebrity than John Bartram, a Pennsylvanian Quaker and farmer, whom Linnæus pronounced to be “the greatest natural botanist in the world.” Bartram established the first botanical garden in America, and, in pursuit of his favorite study, performed numerous journeys with unwearied vigor and dauntless courage, among the fiercest and most jealous of the Indian tribes. At the age of seventy he travelled through East Florida, in order to explore its natural productions, and afterwards published a journal of his observations. And yet withal, he supported a numerous family by his own personal labor as a farmer. He was a pious and benevolent man, and gave liberty to the only slave he possessed, and who gratefully remained with him as a voluntary servant. He was elected a member of the most illustrious societies and academies in Europe; and, before his

¹ See Note XII., at the end of the volume.

death, received the appointment of American botanist to the British king.¹

Some proficiency in mathematics and astronomy² had already been evinced by the Americans. John Winthrop, a native of Boston, and now professor of mathematics in Harvard College, was a man of profound research and extensive learning. He was highly respected by the philosophers of Europe, and published a treatise upon comets, which gained him much celebrity. Thomas Godfrey, of Philadelphia, a self-taught mathematician, the Pascal of America, invented about this time the instrument which, by a misnomer injurious to his fame, passes under the name of Hadley's quadrant. David Rittenhouse, of Pennsylvania, with no preceptor but his genius, and no assistant but his labor, had now begun those philosophical researches, in the course of which he was led for a time to believe himself the first author of the sublime invention of fluxions, and subsequently gained high repute as an astronomer, and the inventor of the American orrery. This remarkable man occupied originally a very humble station; and in his youth, while conducting a plough, usually traced on its handles his mathematical calculations. William Douglass, a physician in Boston, was celebrated for his proficiency in mathematics, and, in 1744, published an ingenious almanac entitled *Mercurius Anglicanus*. He is more generally known as the author of the historical and statistical work published a few years after under the title of *A Summary of the British Settlements in America*, and which, together with many faults, contains a great deal of valuable information. He was a

¹ His taste and genius were inherited by his son, William Bartram, author of the interesting *Travels in Carolina, Georgia, and Florida*.

Some prospect appeared, at one time, of a diligent and successful cultivation of natural history in Canada, under the auspices of the Marquis de la Galissonnière, who for a short period was governor of this province. "Galissonnière," says Kalm, who visited him in 1749, "reminded me of our own Linnæus. When he spoke of the use of natural history, and of its subservience to national greatness, I was astonished to hear him deduce his reasons from politics, as well as science and philosophy." Kalm. The third volume of Kalm's work contains many curious particulars illustrative of the state of society and manners in Canada.

² America will probably be distinguished hereafter by the pursuit of astronomical observation. A letter which I have seen from Benjamin Franklin to Dr. (Sir William) Herschel affirms, that, from the superior clearness of its atmosphere, the climate of America is more favorable to this pursuit than the climate of Europe.

Scotchman by birth, and had emigrated to New England, where he died in 1753. Thomas Prince, a native and minister of Boston, published, in 1736, the first volume of a work which he entitled *The Chronological History of New England*. He was a man of superior genius, and by intensely laborious study had accumulated a vast stock of knowledge ; but by undertaking too much, he fell short of the execution of his design in this work, which was never completed. His introductory epitome, which cost him immense labor, begins at the creation of the world. He died in 1758.

Stith, a professor in William and Mary College, published, in 1747, his *History of Virginia*, — a work to which we have already adverted.¹ Timothy Cutler, Elisha Williams, and Thomas Clap, successively presidents of Yale College, in Connecticut, distinguished themselves by their attainments in classical and Oriental literature. Many other professors in the colleges of New England have been celebrated for their genius, taste, and superior erudition ; but the fame even of the most distinguished of these men rests more upon the testimony of their contemporaries, than on any literary monuments they have left behind them. Neither lay nor clerical teachers, in this country, possessed the leisure which the institutions of England have so long placed within the reach of a numerous body of studious men. Their lives were more active than speculative ; their chief business was not the replenishment of their own minds with a ceaseless accumulation of learning, but the personal administration of the functions of tuition ; and they were expected to make proof of their superiority, rather by the moral and intellectual improvement of their pupils and congregations, than by solitary compositions attesting their own peculiar and transcendent attainments, — rather by enlarging the empire and influence, than by aggrandizing the bulk and advancing the boundaries of science. The growing appetite for knowledge, doubtless, created an increased demand for books on every subject ; but this demand was easily and copiously supplied from Europe. Theology and ecclesiastical controversy still continued to be the chief themes which the

¹ Book I., Chap. III., *ante*.

native literature of New England was employed to illustrate. Between the beginning and the middle of the eighteenth century, a great number of well educated men, and some persons of very high attainments in science and literature, repaired, among other emigrants, from Britain to America. It was a happy and memorable feature in the character of the American colonists, and especially of the people of New England, that the work of tuition in all its branches was greatly honored among them, and that no civil functionary was regarded with more respect or crowned with more distinguished praise than a diligent and conscientious schoolmaster.¹

We have already remarked the rise of newspapers in Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, New York, Rhode Island, and South Carolina. These powerful engines for the circulation of sentiment and opinion were established in the year 1745 in Maryland, and in 1755 in Connecticut.²

In the year 1753, there was published at Dublin, by Dr. James M'Sparran, who had (by appointment of the Bishop of London and a missionary society in England) officiated for several years as a minister of the gospel in North America, a work bearing this unwieldy title : — *America Dissected : being a full and true Account of all the American Colonies ; shewing the Intemperance of the Climates, excessive Heat and Cold, and sudden violent Changes of Weather, terrible and mischievous Thunder and Lightning, bad and unwholesome Air, destructive to human Bodies ; Badness of Money, Danger from Enemies, but, above all, Danger to the Souls of the poor People that remove thither, from the multifarious wicked and pestilent Heresies that prevail in those Parts. In several Letters from a Reverend Divine of the Church of England, Missionary to America and Doctor of Divinity ; published as a Caution to unsteady People who may be tempted to leave their*

¹ Kalm. Campbell. Miller's *Retrospect of the Eighteenth Century*. Eliot's *New England Biography*. Burk. Dwight's *Travels*. I was informed by an elegant and accomplished Virginian lady, that, even so late as the close of the eighteenth century, it was customary for the daughters of the wealthiest planters in the province to be educated at day-schools taught by male preceptors, generally clergymen in years. She herself was educated in this manner. From the memoirs of Anthony Benezet, the Quaker philanthropist, it appears, that, after teaching boys during the greater part of his life, he became the schoolmaster of girls, in his old age, in Pennsylvania.

² Dwight.

native Country. The caution intended by this splenetic and intolerant partisan of the church of England must have operated beneficially to America, if it deterred persons of temper and understanding similar to his own from resorting to her soil. He decries the religious estate of all the provinces, but especially of Rhode Island, where he had chiefly resided, and where he represents the Quakers as then forming by far the most powerful class of the people, and engrossing all the functions of government. The only objects in America that obtain his praise, or, indeed, escape his disapprobation, are the ecclesiastical assemblies on the model of the church of England, and the fine breed of horses for which Rhode Island was renowned. He reproaches the Rhode Islanders with an extreme addiction to lawsuits, — which, nevertheless, appear to have formed a principal part of his own occupation during his stay in the country.¹

¹ *Collections of the Rhode Island Historical Society.* Britain has furnished numerous successors to Dr. M'Sparran in the task, so grateful to royalist and patrician predilections, of heaping censure and detraction on America and her people. Of the calumnies vented by these writers an admirable exposition and refutation may be found in Mr. Walsh's *Appeal from the Judgments of Great Britain respecting the United States of America.*

CHAPTER III.

View of the colonial Dominion and Policy of Britain and France in America.

— Renewal of Disputes between the French and English Colonists. — Hostilities on the Virginian Frontier. — Benjamin Franklin — his Plan for a Federal Union of the American Provinces. — Discontents in Virginia — North Carolina — and New York. — Preparations of France and Britain for War.

WE have seen the American colonies of France and England repeatedly involved in wars which originated between their respective parent states, and of which the causes were ministered by European interests and quarrels. It seemed, on these occasions, that the colonial hostilities were but secondary movements, accessory and subordinate to the main current of affairs in a distant channel ; and that the repose of America depended chiefly on the temper and relations subsisting between the governments and the nations of Europe. We are now to enter upon a different scene, representing a war which was kindled by collisions arising in America, and of which the flames, first breaking forth in this region, progressively extended to Europe, and were not quenched till their devouring rage had been felt in every quarter of the globe. [1752.] Even in the previous scenes of warfare which occurred in North America, it was manifest that the French and British colonists were animated by stronger passion than mere dutiful sympathy with the contemporary quarrels of the distant empires to which they were politically attached. Both the last war, and the preceding one in the reign of Queen Anne, though in formal semblance but the extensions of European strife, were preceded and prepared by disputes of American birth ; and the intervening contest between New England and the Indian allies of France was substantially a war carried on between the French and English colonists, at a time when peace subsisted between their respective parent states. The causes of

enmity, dispute, and collision, which had been multiplying for many years between the two European races by which the colonization of North America was principally shared, were now hastening to a complete maturity, and threatened this great continent with a signal revolution of empire, as the result of a decisive struggle of France and England for its sole dominion. Of this struggle the power which had introduced despotic monarchy and hereditary nobility into America was fated to be the victim. But had the rival state been gifted with more political foresight, she would hardly have suffered either ambition or resentment to precipitate her upon a conquest, of which the manifest effect was to convert France from the interested supporter of the ascendancy of Europe over America, into the vindictive patron of American independence. Had either or both of the contending monarchs perceived how injurious their collision must prove to the interests of royalty, surely the war which we are now approaching would never have broken out, and human prudence would have intercepted that mighty stream of events, which, commencing with the conquest of Canada, and issuing in the independence of North America, and the impulse thereby communicated to the spirit of liberty and revolution throughout all the world, has so wonderfully displayed the dominion of Supreme Wisdom and Beneficence over the senseless, selfish, and malignant passions of men.

When we consider the vast extent of the North American continent, even now ¹ but partially replenished with inhabitants and subdued by cultivation, we are led to inquire with surprise how it was possible that so early as the middle of the eighteenth century a practical collision should have arisen between the pretensions of the French and English colonists. That two colonial societies, which had not yet existed a hundred and fifty years, — which formed but an inconsiderable fraction of the total population of the empires to which they respectively belonged, and yet possessed territories far exceeding the dimensions of the parent states, and utterly disproportioned to any power of cultivation which for centuries they could hope

¹ This was written in the year 1828.

to exert, — that these colonies, I say, during the course of their brief existence, should have been repeatedly engaged in sanguinary wars, and should already, from conflicting schemes of policy, have reached a crisis at which the conquest of the one was deemed requisite to the security of the other, is not the least remarkable instance recorded in history of the boundless range of human ambition, and of the total inadequacy of the largest possessions to impart contentment or satiate cupidity. Another instance, illustrative of these considerations, has been already exhibited to our view in the history of the Dutch and Swedish colonists of New York and Delaware. While these territories respectively possessed but a handful of inhabitants, and afforded an almost boundless scope to the peaceful and profitable labors of colonization, the two infant communities regarded each other with jealous hatred and fear, and plunged into hostilities of which the aggressor was the victim. But in addition to considerations applicable to every portion and community of the human race, there are others derived from the national character, sentiments, and temper of the French and English, which contribute to account for the early and violent collision between their colonial establishments in America.

The claim preferred by Edward the Third of England to the throne of France, in the beginning of the fourteenth century, seems to have given the first occasion to that mutual animosity between the French and English people, which, nourished by a succession of national disputes, broke forth into numberless wars, and produced a greater effusion of blood than attended the rivalry of the Greeks and Persians, or of the Romans and Carthaginians. It has been affirmed by a great philosophic historian¹ that this antipathy was cherished in a far stronger degree by the English than by the French, whose position in the middle of Europe involved them in a greater variety of hostile relations than the English, and mitigated the force of national hatred by multiplying the channels in which it flowed. Perhaps a juster consideration will account that the reciprocal animosities of the two nations were substantially much less dis-

¹ Hume.

proportioned than this writer has been willing to suppose. More sincerity and consistent principle mingled with the sentiments of the English ; more politic address and artifice regulated the passions of the French. The English were the most apt to suspect and to threaten injury ; the French were the least prompt to profess enmity, and the least restrained by honor and good faith from indulging in it.¹ But even supposing this estimate erroneous, as perhaps it is, and that an unequal degree of animosity subsisted between the subjects of France and England in Europe, their relative position in America was calculated to restore at once the balance of mutual dislike, and to fortify every unfriendly sentiment which they imported from their respective parent states.² The English now became the nearest and the most formidable neighbours of the French, whose passions, discharged from participation in the politics of Europe, had leisure to unite their strength in a single channel ; while, to the British colonists in general, and especially to the people of New England, who were most approximated to Canada and Nova Scotia, the religious faith and civil policy of the French were objects of greater aversion than to any class of the domestic population of Great Britain.

Institutions more purely democratical subsisted, and liberty flourished with greater vigor, in the British colonies than in Britain ; while a stricter system of despotism prevailed in the French colonies than in France. The English colonists stigmatized the French as idolaters, and the French denounced the English as heretics. The English despised the French as slaves ; while the French, attached to arbitrary power, and sharing all its prejudices, regarded with aversion the rival principle of liberty which was cherished by the English.³ The

¹ France, even when her counsels were guided by Richelieu, aided and encouraged the Scottish Covenanters, the most determined enemies of the Catholic faith and of unlimited monarchy, to resist Charles the First. Louis the Fourteenth, even while he was oppressing the Protestants in France, and encouraging Charles the Second to pursue arbitrary power in England, maintained a correspondence with the English politicians who were opposed to Charles's tyrannical designs, and who abetted the prosecutions for the *Popish Plot*.

² We might suppose that Kalm, the traveller, was describing the provincial manners of England, when he relates that he was followed and hooted by the children in the streets of Albany, because his hair was dressed in a style which was reckoned characteristic of a Frenchman.

³ "We are well aware," said Demosthenes to the Thebans, "of that inex-

mutual enmity of the French and English colonists was farther promoted by their competitions to gain a monopoly of the trade and good-will of a variety of Indian tribes, all of which were engaged in frequent wars, and expected that their quarrels should be espoused by their friends ; and some of which had the sagacity to perceive that the mutual jealousy and estrangement of the two European races would be favorable to the independence and authority of the Indians. The seeds of controversy between the French and English colonists were thus sown with the earliest settlements which they formed in America ; and between two nations so strongly prepossessed against each other the actual collision was rather hastened than retarded by the prodigious extent of vacant territory which surrounded their settlements, and naturally prevented an early and amicable adjustment of boundaries. Conflicting pretensions and territorial disputes were prepared from the first by the indefinite and extravagant charters or grants of land, which the French and English monarchs, ignorant or regardless of each other's proceedings, severally conferred on their subjects ; and these disagreements, which various occasions had already partially developed, were now brought to an early but full maturity by the progress of that ambitious system of colonial enterprise which for many years the French had actually pursued.

The models of conduct and policy exhibited in the settlements of the two races of colonists differed as widely as their local positions in America, and strikingly illustrated the distinctive traits in the characters of the parent nations from which they were respectively derived. The English were in possession of the seacoast of North America, of the harbours and the mouths of rivers ; and some, but only a very few, of their settlements were actually extended as far as a hundred or a hundred and fifty miles into the interior of the country. The French were not in possession of any part of the seacoast or of any harbours on the continent, but had made settlements on the banks of the two great rivers St. Lawrence and Mississippi, of which

tinguishable hatred which kings and the slaves of kings have ever felt towards nations which have plumed themselves on being free." Freinshemius's *Supplement to Quintus Curtius*, Book I.

the sources are not far apart, and which, running respectively northeast and south, formed a line almost parallel to the seaward position of the English. These settlements of the two nations afforded an extent of territory sufficient to absorb for centuries the most copious emigrations from France and England ; and if the two races of planters had confined their enterprises to the avowed purpose and reasonable process of colonization, — to the culture and subjugation of those uncultivated wastes and forests which they either appropriated as vacant, forcibly seized, or fairly purchased from the savage proprietors, — we should still have been separated by a long interval from the time when their interests could possibly have clashed or interfered with each other. The natural employment of the colonists of America was agriculture, with the addition of a confined range of commerce ; and this was the line of action which the English pursued. Their main object was to plant and cultivate, to subdue the land by the axe, to rule it by the plough, and to clothe it with flocks ; and they never removed from the sea-coasts to the interior of the country, but when they were straitened for room in the situations which they had primarily adopted. They occupied no remote or distant posts, and made no settlements but such as were capable of being maintained and supported by the natural condition of their affairs and intercourse of their people. Adhering to this policy, it was impossible that they could ever be justly charged with encroachments on the possessions of the French ; and had the conduct of the latter people been regulated by the same maxims, many centuries must have elapsed before the two nations could have been, properly speaking, even neighbours to each other in these vast and desert regions.

But quite the reverse of this was the procedure of the French. The favorite object of their policy was rather extended dominion than industrious settlement and improved plantation ; and they were less attentive to the erection of agricultural or mercantile habitations than of military forts. With an ambitious latitude of grasp, they occupied and fortified posts at a prodigious distance from each other, as well as from the two provincial capitals, and in situations where they could be maintained only by elaborate and unnatural exertions of power and policy, and

were but little subservient to the purposes of commerce, and still less of agriculture. The British colonists were peaceable farmers and traders ; and the progress of their settlements was the natural growth of diligent and continuous cultivation. The French conducted themselves rather as roving and ambitious adventurers than as industrious settlers ; and the aggrandizement of their domains was the effect of aspiring, irregular, and impetuous enterprise. Beholding with alarmed rivalry the slow but sure and steady progress of the British colonies in culture, population, and commerce, and instigated by envy and ambition to dread already the increase of a power which was likely to be the more confirmed and stable because it employed no violent or irregular means of accelerating its advancement, the French had long pursued measures of which the object was to intercept the farther growth of the British settlements, and to confine them within a narrow range, extending only a few leagues from the seacoast. With this object they combined the design of gaining possession of one of the English harbours on the Atlantic ocean,¹ for the commercial benefit of the vast interior districts to which they laid claim, and which possessed no other maritime communication but the mouths of two rivers, neither of which afforded a convenient navigation. In prosecution of their politic views, they studied to connect their two colonies of Canada and Louisiana by a chain of forts from Quebec to New Orleans, — an operation, which, though quite inappropriate to the ends of colonization, might yet have been accounted justifiable, had the new positions they assumed been restricted to the banks of the two great rivers, or the territory immediately adjacent to them. But, not contented with this, they advanced their military settlements so near the English frontier, and (with still more significant indication of their purpose) to so great a distance from any of their own colonies, with such vast tracts of land, either desert or inhabited by hostile savages, intervening between them, that a bare inspection of the map of America is sufficient to demonstrate the

¹ Even as early as the reign of James the Second, and during the subsistence of peace between France and England, De Callieres, a French officer, recommended to his countrymen the conquest of New York, which he insisted was "légitime par la nécessité." W. Smith.

aggrandizing aim of this people, and the spirit of hostile encroachment by which they were actuated.

The design of the French to restrict the growth of the British settlements was penetrated, as we have seen, by Spotsiswoode, the governor of Virginia, as early as the year 1715 ; and but a few years later was distinctly perceived by Burnet, the governor of New York. But the representations of these politicians were disregarded by their countrymen, till experience demonstrated what sagacity had anticipated in vain. The purpose of deliberate encroachment on the British settlements was manifested, in the year 1731, by the decisive measure of erecting the fort of Crown Point upon Lake Champlain, at a great distance from any other French establishment, and within the territory of the Six Nations, who were recognized by treaty as the allies and under the protection of Britain. This daring intrusion upon the province of New York excited hardly any attention at the time, except from the government of Massachusetts, whose jealousy had been sharpened by many previous collisions with the French, and was kept alive by the nearer danger with which New England was menaced, of encroachment in the quarter of Nova Scotia. Before this province was finally conquered by Britain, or rather by the British colonists, during Queen Anne's War, the French endeavoured, by the extension of its boundaries, to check the advance of the settlements of New England ; and even after it was surrendered to Britain, at the peace of Utrecht, they pursued the same policy, by instigating the neighbouring Indians to assert pretensions opposed to the claims of the English, and by raising disputes with regard to the real meaning and extent of the cession which had been extorted from themselves. They still pretended right to a part of that territory of which the English reasonably understood that the whole was ceded ; and these pretensions were rendered the more dangerous by their concurrence with the sentiments of the French inhabitants of the territory confessedly ceded, and of the neighbouring Indians, as well as by the establishment which France was permitted to retain in the island of Cape Breton.

The hostile attitude which the French force in America thus progressively assumed would long before the present period

have provoked a decisive struggle for the sole dominion of this continent, if a corresponding spirit had been manifested by the rival power and people. But the British colonists, devoted to the pursuits of peaceful industry, were not easily aroused to military enterprise ; and their political views and solitudes, as well as those of the parent state, were divided by the jealousies which they reciprocally entertained ; — on the one hand, of encroaching sovereignty, — on the other, of relaxing submission and dependence. If the French, from the unready resistance and languid retorts which they experienced, reaped the political advantage of improving their military positions, they incurred the moral disadvantage of rendering themselves more palpably the aggressors in an inevitable quarrel ; while the British colonists derived all the benefit arising from the increase of their resources in peace, and from a sense of justice in the final appeal to arms. The British settlements far exceeded those of France in wealth and population ; and if the two races of colonists had engaged with equal vigor and determination in general hostilities, unaided by their respective parent states, the issue of the contest could not long have been doubtful. But various circumstances tended to equalize the martial force which these rival colonies were capable of exerting, or, rather, to transfer the preponderance of active power to the French. The British were divided into a variety of commonwealths, separated from each other by religious diversities, as well as by distinct political constitutions, of which the independence was guarded with a vigilance of apprehension incident to the spirit of liberty ; and the only principle of union among them was their common jealousy of the parent state, — a sentiment which perplexed their politics, and tended rather to make the subjugation of their French neighbours appear additionally desirable, than to induce them to expend their own strength and resources upon this object. It was difficult to collect the force and energy of a people so circumstanced into one compact mass. In the French settlements no such principles of disunion had existence ; but a vigorous concert and simplicity of purpose and action prevailed, — the result of a despotic regimen congenial to the temper and sentiments of the people.

No religious or political distinctions divided the several por-

tions of the French provincial commonwealth from each other ; and no encroachments upon charter privileges, nor opposition to the exercise of disputed prerogative, relaxed the protecting and auxiliary energy of the sovereign, or the common ardor of the colonists for the promotion of his wishes and the enlargement of his empire and renown.¹ The French colonists relied on, and received, much more liberal aid from their parent state than did the English ; and at the same time were more ready (generally speaking) to make adventurous exertions of their own unaided force in the national cause, with which all their political ideas and sentiments were blended. Accustomed to prompt and implicit obedience to despotic power, the conformity between their civil habits and the system of military discipline rendered them always capable of being easily moulded into armies and employed as efficient instruments of war and conquest. Undistracted either by internal jealousies and emulations, or by the nurture and defence of domestic liberty, their political ambition was confined to the single object of French glory and aggrandizement ; while, from their local situation, opposition to the colonial empire of England was the only sphere of action in which the political enmity and national prejudice, of which they were susceptible could be exerted. The governors of Canada were generally soldiers of reputation, and were intrusted with the absolute regulation and superintendence of Indian affairs ; whereas the English governors frequently owed their appointments to court favor, parliamentary interest, or aristocratical patronage, and abandoned the province of Indian affairs to private traders, who were indifferent to the public welfare, and actuated only by the most sordid motives and considerations. With the exception of the Six Nations and their tributaries, the French, from their first settlement in America, had been remarkably successful in conciliating the affections and gaining the adherence of the Indian tribes ; and, in this respect, their priests proved far more useful political instruments than the clergymen and missionaries of

¹ The effect of such an entire and unqualified despotism as characterized the policy of France towards Canada in repressing those discontents which are nourished by a system so checkered as that which was applied to the colonies of Britain is well unfolded in the speech (preserved by Thucydides, Book I.) of the Athenian ambassador at Sparta.

the English. While unity of design and promptitude of decision invigorated the councils and conduct of the French, the most judicious projects entertained by the English were often endangered or rendered abortive by the jealous caution and protracted deliberations of their numerous representative assemblies. Governor Shirley, we have seen, when he undertook the conquest of Louisburg, found it more difficult to overcome the doubt and hesitation of his people than to overpower the resistance of their enemy; and lost the time in defending his measure, which a French governor would have employed in improving its chances of success. Hence, though the actual force of the French settlements was indisputably inferior to that of the English, it was in artificial structure more nimble, compact, and disposable, and was capable of being directed with more celerity upon any given point, — an advantage that has often counterpoised, and even outweighed, disparity of bulk and numerical superiority.

Of the various points in dispute between France and England, not one was adjusted by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. The boundaries of the British empire in North America, and the disputed property of Tobago and other islands in the West Indies, were left to be settled by the negotiation of commissaries, — a procedure in which it is easy for either party, by cunning and chicanery, to perplex the discussion, and indefinitely to protract its issue. This policy the French were fully prepared to pursue; and, in unison with it, they pushed with redoubled vigor their system of territorial encroachment. Even previous to the appointment of commissaries on either side, and very soon after the conclusion of the peace, they attempted to make an establishment in Tobago; but, warned by the violent expression of indignation which was provoked from the merchants of Britain by this measure, they receded from a pretension which seemed likely too soon to precipitate matters to an extremity, and, on the first complaint of the British government, consented to abandon the undertaking. Their conduct on this occasion, which admits of no cavil or disguise, justifies a presumption very unfavorable to their good faith in the other contemporary collisions and disputes, of which the merits, whether by artifice or accident, have been involved in

greater doubt and obscurity. Eagerly resuming possession of Cape Breton, restored to them by the treaty of peace, the French speedily perceived that some of the advantages which they might hope to derive from this possession were likely to be counteracted by the establishment of the colonists despatched from Britain under Cornwallis to Nova Scotia; and though they had no pretence for disputing the legitimacy of this enterprise, they employed the most active endeavours to render it ineffectual. Their Indian allies attacked the English settlements in Nova Scotia; and, in the commencement of the year 1750, a band of two thousand five hundred French troops, detached by the governor of Canada, and reinforced by Indian auxiliaries, took possession of the whole tract of country from Chignecto, along the north side of the Bay of Fundy, to Kennebec River, which they declared to be still the property of the Most Christian King, and to which they invited all the French Neutrals, as they were called, to repair from the district confessedly ceded to Britain. Various skirmishes ensued between the forces of Cornwallis and the French and Indians; a number of forts were built, and some were taken and destroyed on both sides; but the French continued to maintain their position and fortify their interest. Cornwallis urgently solicited assistance from the government of Massachusetts, and would probably have obtained it, but for the absence of the popular and enterprising Shirley, who had repaired to Europe in order to act as one of the commissaries of Britain in the approaching discussions with France. Spencer Phips, the lieutenant-governor, whose influence was not proportioned to his merit, recommended an expedition to Nova Scotia; but the assembly declared that their own province was likely to need all its forces for its own protection. They had just received intelligence of an encroachment on the territory of Massachusetts, by a settlement which the French were reported to have commenced on the river Lechock, about five leagues eastward of Penobscot; and Clinton, the governor of New York, had communicated to them the alarming tidings, that the French authorities in Canada were diligently endeavouring to seduce the Six Nations from the British interest, and had urged the New England governments to unite their

counsels with his, in opposition to these dangerous intrigues. Thus, before the peace announced by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle was fully established, the French engaged in measures which plainly tended to a renewal of the war.

These collisions demonstrated the necessity of an immediate change in the relative posture of the two nations, and hastened the appointment of the commissaries, whose conferences accordingly commenced at Paris in the close of the year 1750; but, as might easily have been foreseen, produced only increased disagreement, perplexity, and irritation. Memorials and documents were compiled on both sides, till they attained a bulk more fitted to confuse than elucidate the points and merits of the controversy; and not the slightest approach had been made to the adjustment of any one article of dispute, when the negotiation was finally abandoned in despair of an amicable issue. From the voluminous length of the discussion, the variety and intricacy of the details which it embraced, and the opposite views which the commissaries entertained of the state of facts and the authority of documents, it was not difficult for either party, in its report of the proceedings, to fix a plausible imputation of blame upon the other; and it is not surprising that a controversy which issued in such memorable events and signal revolutions of empire should have been regarded ever since through the medium of the strongest national prejudice and partiality. Doubtless some part, and probably no inconsiderable part, of the difficulties by which a conventional adjustment of the pretensions of the two parties was obstructed arose from the conflicting terms of titular writs on which they respectively reposed a fair and entire reliance. And, indeed, this appears no less a concession due to candor and liberality, than a conclusion unavoidably suggested by the nature of the object in dispute, which was a vast extent of country to which two nations preferred claims founded on grants and charters of their respective monarchs, who, at the very time when they executed these deeds, were ignorant of the dimensions and boundaries of the region which they pretended to describe and bestow. It was impossible that such charters should not frequently clash and contradict each other; and while both parties referred to them, reasoned from

them, and accounted them of equal force and validity, an amicable adjustment of the differences to which they administered support was rendered a matter of the greatest difficulty. Even the most sincere and zealously Christian politicians have accounted themselves exempted, as the representatives of their countrymen, from the obligations of generous concession and magnanimous forbearance, which, as individuals, they would have readily acknowledged.

We have remarked various disputes that were engendered between the several English provinces by the vague and inconsistent definitions of territory contained in their charters; and when such collisions occurred between members of the same common empire, it is not wonderful that they sprung up and were maintained with greater keenness and obstinacy between two nations long accustomed to regard each other with sentiments of rivalry and dislike. Yet, with the amplest allowance for these considerations, we should postpone substantial truth to fanciful candor and affected impartiality, in hesitating to pronounce that the obstructions to an amicable issue of the controversy were not only magnified, but rendered absolutely insuperable; by the disregard of honor, good faith, and moderation, with which the pretensions of France were advocated. The policy which had been exemplified by the French colonists in America was now espoused and defended by the French politicians in Europe. Not only did the commissaries on behalf of France reject the authority of maps which had been published and revised by the ministers of their own country,¹ but they refused to abide by the definition of the boundaries of Nova Scotia for which the French cabinet formerly contended, when the region designated by this name was acknowledged to form a part of the dominion of France.²

¹ "M. Bellin," says W. Smith, "published a new set of maps; the first plate being thought too favorable to our claims. Shirley took occasion to speak of this alteration to Bellin at Paris, and informed him that one hundred copies of his first maps were dispersed in London; upon which he discovered some surprise; but, instead of urging any thing in support of the variation in his new draft, said, smiling, *We in France must follow the commands of the king.*"

² "The conferences," says Smollett, "were rendered abortive by every art of cavilling, chicanery, and procrastination, which the French commissioners opposed to the justice and perspicuity of the English claims. They not only misinterpreted treaties, though expressed with the utmost precision, and perplexed the conferences with difficulties and matter foreign to the subject, but

Governor Shirley, one of the British commissaries, during the progress of the negotiation, committed the folly of marrying, at the age of sixty, a young and lovely French girl, the daughter of his landlord at Paris,—a circumstance which exposed him to ridicule in England, and aroused in America some angry suspicions of his defection to the interests, or, at least, of his relaxed opposition to the pretensions of France. But the injustice of these suspicions was demonstrated on his return to Massachusetts [1753], when he plainly showed that neither the endearment of conjugal affection nor the arts of the French commissaries had been able to bias his sentiments or baffle his penetration; and openly proclaimed that an accommodation with France was hopeless, that only martial arbitrament could now terminate the controversy, and that the interest of Britain demanded that this inevitable appeal should be no longer deferred.¹

Meanwhile, in addition to the previous controversies and the increasing hopelessness of a peaceful adjustment of them, new subjects of dispute arose between the two nations. The extension of the Virginian settlements to the banks of the river Ohio, and especially the occupation of a part of this region by the English Ohio Company, were calculated to bring to a decisive test the long prevalent suspicion of the purpose of the French to render the line of forts which they had been erecting subservient not merely to the communication between their own colonies, but to the confinement of the British settlements, and the obstruction of their advances into the interior of the country. Nor did the French hesitate a moment to afford unequivocal proof of their entire purpose, and to resist the first attempt of their rivals to overleap the boundaries within which they were resolved to inclose them. A menace of the governor of Canada, that he would treat as enemies any of the subjects of Britain who should settle near the Ohio, or presume even to trade with the Indian inhabitants of this region,

they carried the finesse of perfidy so far, as to produce false charts and maps of the country, in which the rivers and boundaries were misplaced and misrepresented."

¹ Smollett. Hewitt. W. Smith. Wynne. Trumbull. Burk. Hutchinson. Minot. Belknap. Yet this year the British parliament, in their address to the king, with strange delusion or insincerity, congratulated him on the manifest stability of the peace.

having been disregarded, was promptly enforced by the seizure of a number of British traders, who were carried as prisoners to a fort which the French were erecting at Presque Isle, on Lake Erie. Other British traders, and servants of the Ohio Company, retreated in alarm from the stations which they had begun to occupy ; and the French, perceiving that the critical juncture was come, when their ambitious system of policy, now plainly disclosed, must be either defended by force or completely abandoned, proceeded with augmented diligence to supply whatever was yet defective in its subsidiary arrangements and preparations. A fort was built at Niagara, within the dominions of the Indian allies of Britain ; and, in addition to the fort on Lake Erie, two others were built at commanding positions on the banks of the Ohio. Thus, at length, the French succeeded in completing their long-projected communication between the mouth of the Mississippi and the river St. Lawrence.

The complaints against these measures transmitted from America to Britain, concurring with the failure of the negotiations at Paris, and seconded by the influence and activity of the British merchants who were interested in the scheme of the Ohio Company, excited more attention in the parent state than colonial wrongs and quarrels had usually obtained ; and a memorial was accordingly presented this year by Lord Albemarle, the British ambassador to the court of France, requiring, in peremptory terms, that satisfaction should be afforded to the injured subjects of Britain ; that the fort erected at Niagara should be evacuated and destroyed ; and that positive orders should be issued to the French commanders in America to desist from farther encroachments and attacks upon the British settlements and colonists. The French court, not yet prepared for an open rupture, or at least willing to defer it as long as possible, returned to this application an answer, of which the tone was compliant, though the terms were evasive. Some Englishmen, who had been sent prisoners from America to France, were instantly set at liberty ; and assurances were given of the transmission of such orders to the governor of Canada as would infallibly prevent all future cause of complaint. These assurances produced the effect of amusing the British

government a little longer ; but, although public orders in conformity with them were actually sent to America, it is probable that they were nullified by private instructions ; for they were violated without scruple by the French provincial authorities. Jonquière, the governor of Canada, not only continued to multiply and strengthen the fortifications along the line which his countrymen now pretended right to regard as the limit of the English territory, but openly encouraged the Indians, and permitted the French, to attack the English settlers and traders, both in Nova Scotia and on the Ohio. The pretensions of France to withstand the British settlements on the Ohio indicated such a devouring ambition, and disclosed a policy so manifestly calculated to arrest the growth and diminish the security of the colonial dominions of Britain, that they would probably have provoked more general and efficient opposition in America, but for the indiscretion and rapacity which we have already remarked in the conduct of the Ohio Company. Hamilton, the governor of Pennsylvania, strongly represented to the assembly of this province the expediency of erecting forts as well as barter-houses for the use of the Pennsylvanian traders with the Indians on the Ohio ; but though a majority of the Pennsylvanian assembly relished the proposal and passed a resolution in conformity with it, yet the interests of individuals, who regarded the monopoly of the Ohio Company with jealous aversion, prevailed so far, as to prevent either this, or any other defensive measure, from being carried into execution.¹

An attempt, which was made in the same year, by the governor of Virginia, to resist the encroachments of France, led to the first appearance of the illustrious George Washington on the scene of American affairs. It is interesting to mark the earliest dawn of a career of such exalted and unsullied glory. Robert Dinwiddie, who now arrived in Virginia with the appointment of governor of this province, was quickly made sensible of the critical state that the relations between the French and English had attained on its frontiers. Perceiving the necessity of instant and resolute interference in

¹ Smollett. Wynne. Burk.

behalf of his countrymen who were expelled from their settlements, and desirous to gain more distinct information with regard to the region which was the subject of these conflicting pretensions, he was induced to commit this important task, which the approach of a rigorous winter rendered still more arduous, to Washington, a young Virginian planter, only twenty-one years of age. This remarkable youth had conceived a strong predilection for the British naval service, and at the age of fifteen was prevented only by the entreaties of his mother from accepting the situation; which was obtained for him, of midshipman in an English ship of war. He was already distinguished as a surveyor and civil engineer in his native province, and held the rank of major as well as the office of adjutant-general of its militia. Undaunted by the toil and danger of a winter journey, of which two hundred miles lay through a trackless desert inhabited by Indians, some of whom were open enemies and others doubtful friends, the youthful envoy cheerfully undertook the mission; and, with a single attendant, surmounted all the peril and foulness of the way, and succeeded in penetrating to a French fort erected on the river *Le Bœuf*, which falls into the Ohio. To the commander of this fort he carried a letter from Governor Dinwiddie, requiring the evacuation of the place, and a relinquishment of the other recent encroachments on the British dominion in the same quarter. St. Pierre, the French commandant on the Ohio, returned for answer to this application, that it belonged not to him to arbitrate the conflicting claims of France and England, and that he had acted and must still continue to act in implicit obedience to the directions of the governor of Canada. Washington performed the duties of his mission with vigor and ability; and after a painful and laborious expedition, which occupied more than two months, regained in safety the capital of Virginia. [January 16, 1754.] A journal, in which he recorded the particulars of his travel and the fruits of his observation, was published soon after, and impressed his countrymen with a high respect for the solidity of his judgment, and the calm, determined fortitude of his character.

Governor Dinwiddie, finding that nothing was to be gained by amicable negotiation, projected the construction of forts at

various places which had been surveyed and selected by Washington ; and the assembly agreeing to defray the expense of these operations, materials were procured and the works commenced without delay. Unfortunately, no means were taken to gain the consent of the natives to this measure, which accordingly served only to increase the jealousy and malevolence with which they had begun to regard the English. A regiment was raised at the same time by the Virginian government, and Washington, who was its lieutenant-colonel, marched with two companies, in advance of the main body, to the Great Meadows, situated within the disputed territory. [April, 1754.] Here he learned from some friendly Indians, that the French, with a force of six hundred men and eighteen pieces of cannon, having attacked and destroyed a fort which the Virginians had been erecting, were themselves engaged in completing another fort at the confluence of the Alleghany and Monongahela, one of the spots which was especially recommended in his own journal to the occupation of his countrymen ; and that a detachment of French troops from this place was then on its march towards the Great Meadows, and had encamped for the night in the bosom of a retired valley at a short distance. Convinced that this was a hostile movement, Washington availed himself of the proffered guidance of the Indians, and, advancing with his troops on a dark and rainy night, effectually surprised the French encampment. The Virginians, rousing the enemy by a sudden discharge of firearms, completely disconcerted them by rushing forward to close attack, and compelled them instantly to surrender.¹

Washington, after this success, erected at the Great Meadows a small stockade fort, which received the name of Fort Necessity, and then advanced with his troops, which, by the accession of two companies, one from New York and the other from North Carolina, now amounted to four hundred men, towards the new French fort called Duquesne,² with the

¹ Some French writers declared that the conduct of Washington, on this occasion, betrayed the most savage barbarity ; and taxed him personally with acts of wanton and unmanly bloodshed. These charges, repeated in various publications, rendered Washington very odious to the French, who afterwards, however, forgot or disbelieved them, when the War of Independence rendered Washington their ally.

² Pittsburg, in Pennsylvania, stands upon the ground that was formerly occupied by Fort Duquesne.

intention of dislodging the enemy. But learning on his march that the French had been reinforced and were approaching with a great body of Indian auxiliaries to attack him, he retreated to Fort Necessity, and endeavoured to strengthen its defences by the construction of a ditch around the stockade. Before this operation was completed, the fort was attacked, on the fourth of July, by a very superior force, under the command of De Villiers. The garrison made a vigorous defence from ten in the morning till a late hour at night, when De Villiers having sounded a parley and tendered a capitulation, they at first refused, but finally consented, to surrender, or, more properly speaking, to evacuate the fort, on condition that they should be allowed to march out with the honors of war, to retain their arms and baggage, and to retire without molestation into the inhabited parts of Virginia,—and that the French themselves, instead of advancing farther at present, or even retaining the evacuated fort, should retreat to their previous station at Monongahela. Fifty-eight of the Virginians, and two hundred of the French, were killed and wounded in the encounter. Such a capitulation was by no means calculated either to damp the spirit of the Virginians or to depress the reputation of their commander. It was violated, however, with unscrupulous barbarity by the Indians who were united to the forces of De Villiers, and who, hovering round the Virginians during the whole of their retreat, harassed them with frequent attacks, and killed and wounded a considerable number of them. At the close of this unsuccessful expedition, the Virginian assembly, with equal justice and magnanimity, expressed by a vote of thanks its approbation of the conduct of Washington and his troops.¹

Though the British ministers had obtained from the parliament, in the preceding year, a felicitation to the king on the pretended stability of peace, it was impossible that they could disguise from themselves that the progress of affairs ever since the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle tended manifestly to a rupture with France, and that the two nations were already on the brink of another war. The conferences at Paris had proved

¹ Marshall's *Life of Washington*. Burk. Minot. Trumbull. Rogers's *American Biographical Dictionary*.

abortive, and the disputes which were there ineffectually discussed had not only multiplied in the interval, but broken forth into actual hostilities in America. In the East Indies, also, the colonial empire of Britain was disturbed and invaded by the ambition and intrigues of the French court.¹ That, in such circumstances, a declaration of war should have been retarded, and the French permitted to extend and mature their system of encroachment, seems to have arisen not from blindness or credulity on the part of the British ministers, but from the perplexity and irresolution which they felt with regard to the manner of conducting hostilities in America, and the extent to which these hostilities might, consistently with prudence, be carried. The French court entertained simpler views with regard to America, and was far more bent upon conquest in that quarter than the English; and for this reason, that the liberty that prevailed in the English settlements was a dangerous neighbour to the French colonial empire, whereas the vicinity of the French power was a circumstance favorable to the continued ascendancy of Britain over *her* colonies. Whether these colonies should be defended and their invaders encountered by British troops, or by their own forces; in what manner their counsels and political organization should be united, in order to give due efficacy to the latter mode of defence, without rendering their combined vigor dangerous to the parent state; and how far it would be expedient to push, or possible to pause in, the career of successful warfare conducted in either of these ways,—were questions, which the British ministers, distracted between their jealousy of the colonists and their resentment against the enemy, revolved with much hesitation and embarrassment. Eventually, their indecision, concurring with the immoderate ambition of France, forced upon them the very extremity to which they were most averse, and which, by any reasonable sacrifice, they would doubtless have willingly avoided. Had they vigorously resisted the French encroachments at the outset, and despatched a force sufficient to check them and to inspire the enemy with apprehensions of still more signal retribution, a peace might,

¹ Smollett.

perhaps, have been concluded, which would have retained America for a while longer under the divided empire of France and England. But they hesitated to act, and delayed to act with vigor, till the quarrel, signalized by victories and triumphs of the French and disgraces and disasters of the English, acquired in the eyes of both nations an importance far beyond what it had originally possessed, and conducted England, in particular, to a point at which her dignity and reputation seemed to be staked on the issue of a decisive contest for the sole dominion of North America.

Early in the spring of this year, and before the expedition from Virginia to the Great Meadows, the British ministers signified to the provincial governments the desire of the king that they should oppose the French encroachments by force of arms ; together with a recommendation from his Majesty that they should send delegates to a general convention at Albany, both in order to form a league with the Six Nations, and to concert among themselves a plan of united operations and defence against the common enemy. Seven of the colonies, consisting of Maryland, New York, Pennsylvania, and the New England States, agreed to comply with this recommendation ;¹ and the assembly of Massachusetts at the same time [April 10, 1754] presented an address to Governor Shirley, desiring him "to pray his Majesty that affairs which relate to the Six Nations and their allies may be put under such general direction as his Majesty shall judge proper ; and that the several governments may be *obliged* to bear their proportions of defending his Majesty's territories against the encroachments of the French and the ravages and incursions of the Indians." Shirley, sensible probably of the jealousy which any measure founded on this suggestion would provoke among the colonists in general, unless it originated with themselves, proposed to the governors of the several colonies, that the delegates elected to the convention should be authorized by their constituents to deliberate on a plan of united

¹ Virginia and New Jersey, though specially named in the royal invitation, sent no delegates to the convention. Connecticut, Rhode Island, the Carolinas, and Georgia received no direct invitation from the crown. The other colonies were instructed to demand the coöperation of these States ; but their application prevailed only with Connecticut and Rhode Island.

operation of all the States for their common safety and defence. Instructions to this effect were accordingly communicated to the delegates, who, assembling at Albany in the month of June, were met by a numerous deputation from the tribes of the Six Nations. After an explanatory and pacific treaty with the Indians, who very willingly accepted the presents that were tendered to them, but yet plainly betrayed by their negligent demeanour the success with which the French had intrigued to weaken their regards for the English, — the convention undertook the more important subject which was committed to its deliberations ; and it was unanimously resolved that a union of the colonies was essential to the general safety, and ought to be forthwith accomplished. But here the unanimity of the delegates ended. Probably all the inhabitants of all the colonies would have united in approving the foregoing resolution. The difficulty, or rather the impossibility, was to devise a plan for carrying it into execution, which would be satisfactory at once to the colonists and the parent state.

Among various individuals considerable for their talents and reputation who were assembled in this convention,¹ the most popular and remarkable person was Benjamin Franklin, one of the delegates from Pennsylvania. This great man, who now sustained a conspicuous part in the most important national council that had ever been convoked in North America, has already been introduced (in the two preceding chapters) to our attention, first, as a provincial patriot and philosopher, and afterwards as an enterprising and successful votary of science. In the year 1736, which was the thirtieth year of his age, a matter nowise extraordinary in its nature gave occasion to the earliest display of his genius and capacity as a politician. He had previously established a club or society in Philadelphia, of which the associates were limited in number to twelve, and of which the main object was to promote the exercise and efficacy of patriotic, philosophic, and republican virtue. By a fundamental rule of this institution, which received the name of *The Junto*, its existence and transactions were kept secret from

¹ One of the delegates from Massachusetts was Thomas Hutchinson, afterwards the governor and historian of this province. From Connecticut were sent William Pitkin, Roger Wolcott, and Elisha Williams.

the public, in order to prevent applications for admission from persons whose character and sentiments might render them unmeet associates, and whose influence and connections might at the same time make it painful and inconvenient to reject them. Some of the members having proposed to render the society more numerous by introducing their friends into it, — “ I was one of those,” says Franklin, “ who were against any addition to our number ; and instead of it, I made in writing a proposal that every member separately should endeavour to form a subordinate club with the same rules, but without any hint or information of its connection with the Junto. The advantages proposed were the improvement of so many more young citizens by the use of our institutions ; our better acquaintance with the general sentiments of the inhabitants on any occasion, as the Junto member might propose what queries we should desire, and was to report to the Junto what passed in his separate club ; the promotion of our particular interests in business by more extensive recommendation ; and the increase of our influence in public affairs, and our power of doing good, by spreading through the several clubs the sentiments of the Junto. Five or six clubs were thus completed, which were called by different names, as the *Vine*, the *Union*, the *Band*, &c. : they were useful to themselves, and afforded us a good deal of amusement, information, and instruction, besides answering, in a considerable degree, our views of influencing the public on particular occasions.”

Here we behold the theory and primitive model of that engine of party purpose and power which was afterwards employed with tremendous efficacy by the Jacobin Club of Paris during the earlier stages of the French Revolution. In the year 1753, Franklin, who for some time had held a subordinate appointment in the post-office, was promoted to the function of postmaster-general of America, — a situation which he retained till about twenty years after, when he was displaced by the British court. Of humble parentage and narrow fortune, in a young and dependent commonwealth, unfriended by the gale of patronage, the captivation of brilliant qualities, or the opportunities afforded by revolutionary change, self-educated and self-aided, this man achieved at once the highest civic preëminence

and the most splendid and imperishable renown. At the period at which we have now arrived, he had already distinguished himself by grand discoveries in science and by useful projects in economics, and had been for a number of years a member of the assembly of Pennsylvania, where he spoke rarely, but sententiously, concisely, and with convincing force and propriety, when the occasion was at length presented of exhibiting his genius on a wider theatre. It was now that he proposed to his fellow-delegates in the Albany convention that memorable scheme of a federal league between the American colonies, which has received the name of *The Albany Plan of Union*, and which, though little more than the transcript of a design suggested by another politician about thirteen years before,¹ has been celebrated with far higher praise than his more ingenious and original idea of a ramification of clubs in Pennsylvania has attracted. This was the purport of the plan which he suggested. Application was to be made for an act of parliament to establish in the colonies a general government, to be administered by a president appointed by the crown, and by a grand council, consisting of members chosen by the several provincial assemblies, the number of representatives from each province being directly proportioned to the amount of its contributions to the general treasury, — with this restriction, however, that no colony should have more than seven, or fewer than two representatives.² The whole executive authority of the general government was committed to the president. The power of legislation was lodged jointly in the grand council and president; the consent of the latter functionary being requisite to the advancement of bills into laws. The functions and prerogatives of the general government were, to declare war and make peace; to conclude treaties with the Indian nations; to

¹ See account of Dr. Coxe's project, *ante*, Chap. II.

² It was proposed that the assemblies should choose members for the grand council in the following proportion: —

Massachusetts	7	Maryland	4
New Hampshire	2	Virginia	7
Connecticut	5	North Carolina	4
Rhode Island	2	South Carolina	4
New York	4		
New Jersey	3		
Pennsylvania	6		48

regulate trade with them, and to make purchase of vacant lands from them, either in the name of the crown or of the Union ; to settle new colonies, and to exercise legislative authority over them until they should be erected into separate provincial governments ; and to raise troops, build forts, fit out armed vessels, and pursue all other measures requisite for the general defence. To defray the expenses of this establishment and its various operations, the president and grand council were empowered to frame laws enacting such duties, imposts, and taxes, as they might deem at once necessary and least burdensome to the people. These legislative ordinances were to be transmitted to England for the approbation of the king ; and unless disallowed within three years after their enactment, they were to remain in force. All officers in the naval and military service of the United Colonies were to be nominated by the president, and approved by the council ; civil officers were to be nominated by the council, and approved by the president.

This plan, though recommended to the approbation of a majority of the convention, both by its own merits and by the reputation, talent, and address of the author,¹ was opposed with warm and inflexible determination by the delegates of Connecticut, who objected to the authority conferred on the president, and to the power of general taxation [July 4, 1754] ; and insisted that a government of this description would prove dangerous in the highest degree to the liberties of the colonists, and utterly unfit to conduct with vigor or economy a defensive war along their extended frontier. Of all the members of the convention, these delegates alone had the satisfaction to find that their sentiments were in unison with those of their constituents. No sooner was the plan communicated to the various provincial assemblies, than it was condemned and rejected by every one of them ;² and resolutions were formed to oppose the expected attempts of the British court to obtain an act of

¹ Though the plan was confessedly and solely the composition of Franklin, a committee of the convention had been appointed to digest it. This committee consisted of Hutchinson, of Massachusetts ; Atkinson, of New Hampshire ; Hopkins, of Rhode Island ; Pitkin, of Connecticut ; Smith, of New York ; Franklin, of Pennsylvania ; and Tasker, of Maryland.

² "Not one of the assemblies, from Georgia to New Hampshire, when the report was made by their delegates, inclined to part with so great a share of power as was to be given to this general government." Hutchinson.

parliament for carrying it into effect. But the apprehensions of the colonists on this score were groundless ; for, by a singular coincidence, the plan proved as unacceptable to the ministers of the crown as to themselves. In America it was accounted too favorable to the royal prerogative ; in England it was, contrariwise, censured as savoring too strongly of democracy, and conceding too much power to the representatives of the people. Although thus rejected by all parties, the project of Franklin was attended with important consequences in America. The discussion of it served to familiarize the idea of a federal league, a general government, an American army ; and prepared the minds of the people for the very form of confederacy which was afterwards resorted to in their revolutionary contest with Britain.¹ A plan of a different complexion from Franklin's was conceived by the British cabinet, and communicated, among others, to Governor Shirley of Massachusetts, who, though a popular magistrate, was inclined to favor the prerogative of the crown, to which he was indebted for his own advancement. According to this plan (somewhat akin to the ministerial projects which we have remarked a few years before), the general defence of the colonies was to be intrusted to an assembly consisting of all the governors and a certain number of the provincial counsellors, who were to draw bills of exchange on the English treasury for the sums of money which might be required to carry their measures into effect, and of which the reimbursement was to be derived from taxes imposed on the colonies by act of parliament.

The aversion which the Americans expressed for a far more liberal scheme deterred Shirley from wantonly risking his popularity by openly announcing and advocating this proposition ; but he privately imparted it to Franklin, and an interesting discussion of its merits and chances of success ensued between them. Franklin affirmed that any attempt to carry into effect the project of the British ministry would excite the strongest dissatisfaction in America ; and with great force of argument demonstrated the injustice of the measure, and the injurious consequences which the Americans might reasonably appre-

¹ See Note XIII., at the end of the volume.

hend from it. They could have no confidence, he declared, in a convention consisting of governors and counsellors, of whom the far greater number were the creatures of the crown, whose interest would prompt them to enlarge the expenditure committed to their administration, and multiply the posts and appointments included within their patronage. The people might expect that a tax imposed by their own representatives would be diminished and repealed, whenever a change of circumstances permitted such alleviation ; but a tax imposed by parliament, in conformity with the representations and private interests of a board of royal officers in America, would most probably obtain perpetual duration. He maintained that it was unjust that the subjects of the British crown resident in the colonies should be loaded with direct taxes except by their own representatives, of whom they had none in parliament ; and that the parliamentary restrictions on the commerce of the colonies were *secondary taxes*, which the colonists, on the one hand, submitted to, though they had no share in imposing or adjusting them, and which Britain, on the other, ought to accept as an equivalent for the exemption of the colonists from direct parliamentary taxation. Yet was he disposed to recommend a more intimate union of the colonies with Britain, by the admission of representatives from America into the British parliament ; and he believed that this union would be acceptable to the colonists, provided a reasonable number of representatives were allowed to them, and all the old statutes restraining the trade or cramping the manufactures of the colonies were repealed, till the new parliament, representing the whole empire, might think fit, for the general interest, to reënact some or all of them. Not that he imagined that the colonies would obtain so many representatives as to possess any considerable numerical force in parliament ; but he expected that the reasoning and influence of the American members might be sufficient to cause the trade laws to be more impartially considered, and framed with more regard to equity, and might prevail so far as to withstand the private interest of a single corporation or class of merchants or artificers in England. He characterized the colonies as so many *counties* gained to Great Britain, and all included within the pale of British constitutional

law and rights, no less than of the British empire ; and he held it alike indifferent to the general interest, whether a merchant, a smith, or a hatter grew rich in Old or in New England, as whether an English manufacturer of iron pursued his business at Birmingham or Sheffield ; since, in either place, they were still within the bounds of the commonwealth, and their persons and property were subject to its jurisdiction.

In this correspondence between Franklin and Shirley, which was conducted with great privacy,¹ we behold a partial rehearsal of the controversy that broke out not many years after between America and Britain, and issued in the American Revolution. Franklin, in the interval, found cause to alter some of his political notions ; and at the latter period, departing from the views which we have now seen him unfold, he declared his conviction that the legislatures of Britain and America were and ought to be distinct from each other, and that the relation between the two countries was precisely analogous to that which subsisted between England and Scotland before their union. When we consider how notably Franklin (mistaking his own view of men's interests for an acquaintance with their desires and opinions) misapprehended the sentiments of his countrymen in proposing a plan at Albany which they almost unanimously rejected, we may be justified in supposing that some degree of kindred error mingled with his notion of their willingness to submit to direct taxation by the parent state, on condition of being allowed to send representatives to the British House of Commons. He seems to have entirely neglected the consideration, that, unless an order of nobility were established in America, and the members of it admitted to participate in the privileges of the British peerage, there would still be no channel through which the interests of his countrymen could penetrate into the House of Lords ; and this branch of the supreme legislature would remain exclusively British in its composition. Shirley, convinced, not less by the issue of Franklin's own plan than by the force of his arguments, of the hopelessness of the project which was communicated to him by the British ministers, refrained from any public expression

¹ It was first published in the *London Magazine* for February, 1766.

of his opinion on the subject of political union for the general defence ; and the royal cabinet, after persisting a little longer in a feeble and irresolute attempt to induce the colonies to raise a common revenue which the officers of the crown were to administer, either abandoned, forgot, or suspended their purpose ;¹ and finally embraced the determination, or at least pursued the course, of carrying on hostilities in America with British troops aided by such auxiliary forces as the colonial assemblies might voluntarily furnish.² Though these assemblies were but imperfectly acquainted with the inclinations of the court, their jealousy supplied, and perhaps more than supplied, the defectiveness of their information ; and nothing could exceed the stubborn and determined purpose evinced by them to resist the establishment of a general American revenue, which the representatives of America were not to impose and administer.³

While the king and his ministers, though desirous that the military force of America should be more fully developed, were still more desirous to avoid any proportional development of the spirit of American liberty, and were bent on establishing in the colonies only such a system of united agency as might be subservient to British ascendancy and royal prerogative ; and while the Americans, on the other hand, were determined to cultivate their military resources only in correspondence with the interests of their domestic liberty, and to oppose the establishment of any new jurisdiction over their

¹ Yet, so late as the month of May, 1755, we find Shirley writing thus to Wentworth, the governor of New Hampshire : — “ I may assure your Excellency, from every letter I have of late received from Sir Thomas Robinson, I have reason to think that his Majesty hath a dependence upon a common fund's being raised in all his colonies upon this continent ; and that such an one must, in the end, be either voluntarily raised, or else assessed in some other way.” A few months after, the assembly of Massachusetts, in the instructions they communicated to their agent at London, thus admonished him : — “ It is more especially expected that you oppose every thing that shall have the remotest tendency to raise a revenue in the plantations for any public uses or services of government.”

² “ The ministry,” says Belknap, “ determined to employ their own troops to fight their battles in America, rather than let the colonists feel their own strength and be directed by their own counsels. Some aid was to be exacted from them ; but the weight of the enterprise and honor of the victory were to belong to British troops, commanded by British officers.”

³ Franklin's *Memoirs*. Trumbull. Hutchinson. Belknap. Minot. Gordon. Holmes. Wynne.

country in which they themselves were not to possess a commanding share, — it was impossible that any plan of general government or even of combined operation of the colonies could be introduced, except by force on the part of Britain, or by revolt on the part of America. Additional impediments to such a measure were occasioned at the present period by dissensions between two of the American provinces, by the struggles of domestic factions in a third, and by an unusual degree of discontent and impatience kindled in several of them by certain recent proceedings of the British government and its officers. A quarrel had arisen between Virginia and New York, in consequence of the failure of the expedition to the Great Meadows ; the Virginians reproaching the other colony with having caused this disaster by neglecting to furnish an adequate contingent of troops. Pennsylvania was distracted by the continual disputes between her assemblies and the provincial proprietaries and governors. The assembly of Virginia at first coöperated zealously with Dinwiddie, the governor of this province, in the prosecution of hostilities with the French. But shortly after the expedition to the Great Meadows, they manifested a very different spirit, and, refusing to sanction or support measures which he by his office was entitled to conduct, they plainly declared that they entertained more jealousy and apprehension of him than of the foreign enemy. Dinwiddie, who was a man of arbitrary principles, insolent temper, and rapacious disposition, attempted to introduce the practice, which, though established in New York, was a novelty in Virginia, of exacting a fee or perquisite to the governor for every patent of land which he was required to grant. The assembly declared that this exaction was illegal, arbitrary, and oppressive ; they protested that every planter who complied with it ought to be deemed an enemy of his country ; and despatched an agent to London to solicit an order of the privy council for its discontinuance.

In North Carolina, the conduct of Arthur Dobbs, who succeeded Johnstone in the office of governor, proclaimed the instructions which he had received to enlarge the bounds of the royal prerogative, and provoked the most determined spirit of resistance from the assembly. But it was at New York that

the strongest manifestation of public discontent was elicited by an accidental discovery of the strain in which the instructions from the crown to its governors were actually couched. We have already remarked the practice of the British court to express, in its commissions to the governors of New York, the delegation of a very large and indeed unwarrantable extent of authority. In addition to their commissions, these officers, like all the governors who were appointed by the crown, were furnished with written instructions for the direction of their political conduct, which were not communicated to the public. But in the present year, Sir Danvers Osborne, a new governor of this province, having died immediately after his arrival at New York, his instructions somehow fell into the hands of persons who hastened to expose their contents to the public eye. The preamble of this document sharply inveighed against the provincial assembly, which was stigmatized as an undutiful, disloyal, and factious body, which had repeatedly violated the royal prerogative by usurping a control over the expenditure of the public money. Osborne was directed to insist on the reformation of all such abuses, and particularly to require the establishment of a certain and definite revenue for the service of the government, as well as for the appropriation of a fixed salary to his own office. Moreover, his Majesty, in these instructions, signified his will that all money raised for the use and support of government should be disposed of by warrant from the governor, with the consent of the council, and no otherwise ; that, nevertheless, the assembly should be permitted, from time to time, to see the accounts of the expenditure of money levied by the authority of laws which they enacted ; that, if any member of the council, or officer holding a place of trust or profit in the government, should in any manner whatever encourage, advise, or unite with the assembly in passing any act or vote, whereby the royal prerogative might be limited or impaired, or any money be raised or expended for the public service, otherwise than by the method prescribed by these instructions, the functionary so offending should forthwith be degraded from his office by the governor.¹ These were per-

¹ Smollett. Williamson. Burk. Wynne.

empty injunctions, and plainly proved that the British ministry regarded the province with displeasure, and were determined to invigorate the royal prerogative within it ; nor is it surprising that the publication of them excited at New York a lively indignation and jealousy against the government of the parent state.

The mutual distrust and ill-humor which thus contributed to perplex the councils and enfeeble the operations of England and her colonies was proportionably favorable to the views and policy of France, which continued vigorously to extend her encroachments, reinforce her garrisons, and strengthen her position in America. In aid of her designs, she endeavoured, with the utmost assiduity of hostile intrigue, to multiply the enemies of England, and particularly to involve this country in a quarrel with Spain. In this instance, indeed, she was for the present disappointed ; for Wall, the minister of the king of Spain, succeeded in convincing his master that peace with England was essential to the real interests of the Spanish monarchy. In America the French intrigues were more successful ; and by the influence of the governor of Canada and his Indian allies, a tribe of Indians with whom New England had no previous quarrel were induced to invade and ravage the frontiers of Massachusetts and New Hampshire. Massachusetts had of late been the scene of violent altercations, provoked by the introduction of an excise law, which, however, in spite of the threats of its opponents and the fears of its supporters, was peaceably carried into execution. In the course of the present year, the assembly of this province caused some new forts to be erected, renewed a pacific treaty with the Eastern Indians, and ascertained that the tidings which had been formerly communicated to them of a French settlement on the Kennebec were destitute of foundation.¹

The British ministers, on receiving intelligence of the defeat of Washington, and of the establishment of French posts on the Ohio, perceived plainly that a war between France and England had begun. Even with a view to the speedy restoration of peace, it was expedient that they should exert more

¹ Minot. Smollett. Belknap.

vigor and promptitude of hostility, and demonstrate more active and determined concern for the dignity of the British empire and the safety of its colonial adjuncts or dependencies. Finding that their complaints to the court of Versailles were answered only by a repetition of former evasions, and learning that the French were making active preparation for the enlargement of their naval and military force in America, they determined to send a detachment of the standing army maintained in England to the defence of the British possessions and pretensions in the same quarter. In conformity with this determination, and early in the following year. [January, 1755], General Braddock was despatched from Ireland with two regiments of infantry commanded by Halket and Dunbar, which were destined to the service of America, and especially to the protection of the Virginian frontier. On the arrival of this armament at its destination, the provinces seemed to forget alike their disputes with each other and their jealousies of the parent state, and a vigorous offensive campaign against the French was projected. A convention of the provincial governors, at the request of the British commander, assembled at Annapolis, in Maryland, to settle the plan of military operations, and resolved that three simultaneous expeditions should be undertaken. The first, directed against Fort Duquesne, was to be conducted by Braddock with his British troops; the second, which was to attempt the reduction of the French fort at Niagara, was committed to the American regulars and Indians, commanded by Governor Shirley, who now received the rank of a British general from the king; and the third, an expedition against Crown Point, was to be undertaken by militia drawn from the northern colonies.

The French court, apprized of Braddock's departure for America, now made one more attempt to prolong the inactivity of the British government, by reiterating assurances of its pacific purposes and earnest desire of accommodation. But when the Marquis de Mirepoix, the ambassador of France at London, a truly honorable man, tendered these assurances, in full reliance on their truth, to the British ministers, they exhibited to him such incontestable proofs of the insincerity of his court, that he was struck with astonishment and mortification, and, repairing to Versailles, upbraided the ministers of Louis the Fifteenth

with the indignity to which they had exposed him as the tool of their dissimulation. By them he was referred to the king, who commanded him to return to London with fresh protestations of his royal intention to preserve peace ; but the conduct of this monarch corresponded so ill with his professions, that his ambassador had scarcely obtained an audience to communicate them, when indubitable assurance was received that a powerful squadron was ready to sail for America from Brest and Rochefort. In effect, it sailed soon after, and transported a great quantity of military stores, and four thousand regular troops, commanded by the Baron Dieskau. Roused by this intelligence, the British government despatched a small fleet, under the command of Admiral Boscawen, and afterwards, on learning the superior strength of the enemy, a few more vessels under Admiral Holborne, to watch the motions of the French squadron. But no additional land forces were sent by Britain to America ; nor yet did she think fit to declare war against France. The French monarch was still more bent on avoiding or at least postponing this extremity ; and although a part of the fleet which he had despatched to America was attacked off Newfoundland and captured by Admiral Boscawen, he still refrained from any nearer approach to a declaration of war than the recall of his ambassador from England. [April 25, 1755.] The British king, in his speech to parliament, asserted the sincerity of his wishes and endeavours, and still expressed a hope of his ability, to preserve peace ; but withal declared that he would not purchase even this blessing at the expense of submitting to encroachments upon his dominions. An act of parliament was passed, extending the provisions of the British *Mutiny Act* to North America ;¹ and declaring that all troops, raised

¹ Much disgust and jealousy was excited by this measure in America. It had been strongly, but ineffectually, opposed by Bollan, the agent at London for Massachusetts, who, in a petition to parliament, represented, "that his Majesty's American subjects were generally freeholders and persons of some property, and enlisted, not for a livelihood, but with intent to return to their farms or trades as soon as the particular services for which they might enlist should terminate ; that the officers were persons in similar though better circumstances ; and that all of them — being chiefly influenced to take up arms by a regard to the honor of the king, the defence of their country, and the preservation of their religion and liberties — had but little preparatory exercise for war, and were, therefore, unsuitable subjects for the operation of the rigorous code of discipline adapted to the government of his Majesty's standing forces." Minot. In communicating the parliamentary measure to his constituents,

by any of the colonial governors or assemblies, should, whenever they acted in conjunction with the British soldiers, be subject to the same system of martial law and discipline which obtained in the British army. A communication, addressed some time before to the provincial governments, signified the king's commands, that officers commissioned by his Majesty, or by his commander-in-chief in North America, should take precedence of all those whose commissions were derived from the provincial governors or assemblies ; " and that the general and field officers of the provincial troops should have no rank, when serving with the general and field officers commissioned by the crown." This regulation proved exceedingly unpalatable to the Americans. Washington, in particular, resenting it as injurious to the merit of his countrymen and calculated to depress their spirit and character, resigned his commission. Happily, however, for his own fame and his country's interest, he was persuaded to accept the appointment of aid-de-camp to General Braddock.¹

Bollan, a sagacious and impartial man, apprized them that he possessed the best evidence of the purposes of the British court "to govern America like Ireland, by keeping up a body of standing forces with a military chest, under some act similar to the famous Poyning's law." Walsh's *Appeal*.

¹ Campbell. Burk. Smollett. Wynne. Minot. Williamson. Marshall.

CHAPTER IV.

Hostilities in Nova Scotia — Expulsion of the French Neutrals. — Braddock's Expedition — and Defeat. — Battle of Lake George. — Transactions in South Carolina. — Dissensions in Pennsylvania — Resignation of Political Power by the Quakers — Quaker Proceedings respecting Negro Slavery. — War declared between France and Britain. — Success of the French at Oswego.

WHILE preparations were making for the prosecution of the military schemes devised in the convention at Annapolis, an expedition, which the New England States had previously agreed to undertake on condition of being reimbursed of the expense of it by the British government, was despatched against the forts and settlements recently established by the French in Nova Scotia. The main body of the forces thus employed consisted of about three thousand men, raised in New England, principally in Massachusetts, and conducted by Colonel Winslow, one of the most popular and considerable inhabitants of this province, and the representative of one of the old Puritan families which were the pride of New England and had gathered the respect of successive generations. Arriving at the British settlement in Nova Scotia [May 25, 1755], the New England forces were joined by three hundred regular troops and a small train of artillery; and the command of the whole was assumed by Colonel Monckton, an English officer of respectable talents and experience. This enterprise was pursued with skill and vigor, and crowned with entire success. Beau Séjour, the principal fort which the French possessed at Chignecto, after a hot siege of a few days, was compelled to surrender, and received from the victors the new name of Fort Cumberland. [June 16, 1755.] The garrison were allowed to march out with the honors of war, and, having engaged not to bear arms for six months, were transported to Louisburg. The other fortresses of the French in this quarter surrendered shortly after, on the same terms.

But although the whole of Nova Scotia was thus reduced to the dominion of Britain, it was impossible not to perceive that the possession of it was still rendered precarious by the existing relations between the British government and the French inhabitants of the country. This race of colonists, interesting both by their character and their misfortunes, amounted in number, probably,¹ to about seven or eight thousand. They were distinguished by the mildness of their manners, their frugal, industrious habits, and the warmth and sincerity of their attachment to the Roman Catholic faith. The vanity, licentiousness, and restless ambition, which we have remarked in the character of the Canadian colonists, were unknown to this little community, which exhibited a happy scene of primitive harmony and benevolence, virtuous simplicity, moderation of desire, and equality of condition. Marriage was contracted at an early age, and celibacy was exemplified only by the priests; nor had one instance of illicit intercourse of the sexes been known to occur among the people since their first establishment in America. Whenever a youth born in this region came to man's estate, a house was built for him by a general contribution of his neighbours, a portion of land was cleared and sown for his use, and he was supplied with all the necessaries of life for a twelvemonth. His marriage was contemporary with this establishment; and a flock of cattle constituted the portion of his wife. But, unhappily, the people, though mildly treated by Britain, and exempted from all taxes, even for the support of the institutions of government in Nova Scotia, never ceased to regret their political separation from France, and were more estranged from the British colonists by difference of religious faith, than attached to them by similarity of manners and moral character. Their priests, supplied by France, were devoted to the interests of her church and monarchy, maintained a close correspondence with the French authorities in Canada, and cherished in their people a conviction of the indissoluble nature of their original relation to the crown of France, and a rooted aversion to the sway and the faith of that nation to which their territory was ceded by the treaty of Utrecht. Though they

¹ The accounts of the actual numbers of this race, transmitted by the historians of America, are surprisingly inconsistent and contradictory.

had desired, upon this event, and by a singular arrangement were permitted, to assume the title and character of a neutral race in all controversies between their old and new masters, the same sentiments which thus qualified their subjection to Britain prevented them from strictly sustaining the neutrality which they professed between her and France. They repeatedly afforded to the Canadian colonists and their Indian allies intelligence, quarters, provisions, and even still more active coöperation in their hostilities against the British government and its subjects ; and upon the present occasion, in particular, three hundred of these professed neutrals were actually found in arms at Fort Beau Séjour.

It was manifest that the interest of Britain demanded, and that her just authority entitled her to require, some additional pledge of the submission, or safeguard against the hostility, of a people inhabiting a portion of her dominions ; and an intimation was now conveyed by Lawrence, the deputy-governor of Nova Scotia, to all of the French colonists who had not made open demonstration of hostility, that they would be allowed to continue in possession of their lands, if they would take the oath of allegiance to the British king without any qualification. As they unanimously refused to give this pledge, Lawrence, and the English admiral, Boscawen, who was then at Halifax, embraced the resolution of transporting them without farther delay beyond the confines of Nova Scotia. To have permitted them to choose the place of their exile would have been to recruit Canada,¹ in the very beginning of a war, with men who would have instantly returned in arms upon the British frontiers. It was therefore determined to remove and disperse this whole people among the British colonies, where they could not unite in any hostile purpose or attempt, and where they might be expected gradually to mingle with the rest of the population. Notice having been given to the governors of the several colonies to prepare for their reception, the French, who had latterly been amused with the hope that only their former pledge of neutrality would be required of them, were

¹ Raynal affirms, that these French colonists, apprehending that their religion was endangered by the English settlement at Halifax, and instigated by their priests, were, at this very time, actually preparing to emigrate to Canada.

assembled at various places by a stratagem less honorable in its character than humane in its purpose ; and having been surrounded by troops, were abruptly acquainted with their fate, and hurried on board a fleet of vessels which was collected to transport them from their native land.

A party of them had been collected in a church, which was thus profaned by violence and breach of faith ; and some having escaped from their captors, and others, from negligence or suspicion, having avoided the snare, their houses and plantations were ravaged in order to deprive them of shelter and compel them to surrender. Winslow and the New England troops were compelled to take a share in this disagreeable duty, the severity of which they endeavoured to alleviate to the unhappy victims by the exercise of a tenderness and humanity very remote from the stern instructions which were communicated by Lawrence. Yet, in the hurry of the embarkation, a great deal of superfluous misery was unintentionally inflicted ; husbands were separated from their wives, and parents were conveyed to settlements far distant from those to which their children were transported. "It was the hardest case," said one of the sufferers, "which had happened since our Saviour was on earth." About a thousand of them were consigned to the territory of Massachusetts, where their wretchedness excited much compassion ; but they were debarred, by the provincial laws, from the public exercise of their religious worship. The people of Massachusetts were incapable of the inhuman absurdity of executing, in such circumstances, their severe law against Catholic priests discovered within the province, but they would not consent to tolerate the celebration of the mass. These involuntary emigrants occasioned a heavy expense to all the colonies ; for, partly from anguish of spirit, and partly from the fond hope that the king of France would never make peace till he had procured their reestablishment in Nova Scotia, they refused to mingle with or pursue any business among the English, and declined to weaken their claims on their own sovereign by soliciting compensation for their losses from the British government. Their pride would not permit them to accept for themselves or their offspring the benefit of any of the provincial establishments for dispensing charity to paupers,

or for the maintenance and education of destitute children. In the sequel, a number of them embarked for France, and others contrived to make their way to Canada and to other settlements of the French and the Spaniards ; but the greater number died in the British colonies in an indigent, though not a starving condition, and mainly the victims of sorrow and disappointment.¹

The forces by which the conquest of Nova Scotia was thus completed incurred no greater loss, during the whole expedition, than that of twenty men killed and about as many wounded. Winslow and his troops, on their return to New England, expressed much disgust at the distinctions which were studiously enforced during the campaign between them and the British regulars, and which the disproportion between the British and the provincial contingents to the combined army rendered peculiarly striking and offensive. But the success of the enterprise, occurring in this early stage of the war, diffused a general animation through the colonies, and was hailed as the omen of farther triumph. There needed not this influence, indeed, to exalt the confident expectation that prevailed of a victorious issue of the greater enterprise which Braddock was to conduct against the French settlements on the Ohio. It was known that the garrison of Fort Duquesne did not exceed two hundred men ; and the British regulars, united with a body of Virginian rangers and a troop of friendly Indians, seemed more than a match for any additional force that the French could assemble in this quarter. Braddock might have entered upon action early in the spring, had he not been delayed by the inability of the Virginian contractors to fulfil their engagements to furnish a sufficient quantity of provisions and carriages for his army. That this accident, which might easily have been foreseen, was not prevented by the British government implies the most culpable ignorance or disregard on their part of the actual condition of the American provinces. The Virginians, engrossed with the culture of tobacco, did not raise corn enough for their own subsistence ; and being amply provided with the accommodation of water conveyance, they em-

¹ Raynal. Smollett. Minot. Hutchinson. Trumbull. Holmes.

ployed but few wheel-carriages or beasts of burden ; whereas Pennsylvania, which abounded in corn and all other sorts of provisions, enjoyed but little water-carriage, especially in its western settlements, where the inhabitants possessed great numbers of carts, wagons, and horses. The British troops should therefore have been landed in Pennsylvania, and their supplies contracted for with the planters there, who could have easily performed their engagements ; and if their commander had pitched his camp near Frankstown, or elsewhere upon the southwest borders of this province, he would have had less than eighty miles to march from thence to Fort Duquesne, instead of one hundred and thirty miles which he had to traverse from Will's Creek, on the frontiers of Virginia, where his encampment was actually formed. The road to Fort Duquesne from the one place was not better or more practicable than from the other.

When Braddock and his officers discovered the incompetence of the Virginians to fulfil the contract which only an injudicious preference had obtained for them, they exclaimed against the blundering ignorance of the British ministers in selecting a scene so unsuitable to their operations, and declared that the enterprise was rendered impracticable. It was, indeed, retarded for many weeks, and must have been deferred till the following summer, if a supply of carriages and provisions had not been seasonably procured from Pennsylvania by the influence and exertions of Dr. Franklin and some other popular and public-spirited inhabitants of this province. Notwithstanding the blunder by which the progress of the expedition was thus delayed, it would still, in all probability, have been attended with complete success, if a more fatal error had not been committed in the choice of its commander. Braddock was a man of courageous and determined spirit, and expert in the tactics and evolutions of European regiments and regular warfare. But, destitute of real genius, and pedantically devoted to the formalities of military science, he was fitter to review than to command an army ; and scrupled not to express his contempt for any troops, however efficient in other respects, whose exercise on a parade did not display the same regularity and dexterity which he had been accustomed

to witness, and unfortunately to overvalue, in a regiment of English guards in Hyde Park. Rigid in enforcing the nicest punctilios and in inflicting the harshest severities of military discipline, haughty, obstinate, presumptuous, and difficult of access, he was unpopular among his own troops; and excited the disgust both of the Americans and the Indians. There are two sorts of vulgarity of mind; to the one of which it is congenial timidly to overrate, and to the other presumptuously to underrate, the importance of scenes and circumstances remote from the routine of its ordinary experience. The latter of these qualities had too much place in the character of Braddock, who, though totally unacquainted with American warfare, and strongly warned by the Duke of Cumberland that ambush and surprise were the dangers which he had chiefly to apprehend in such scenes, scorned to solicit counsel adapted to the novelty of his situation from the only persons who were competent to afford it. Despising the credulity that accepted all that was reported of the dangers of Indian warfare, he refused, with fatal skepticism, to believe any part of it. It seemed to him degrading to the British army to suppose that it needed the directions of provincial officers, or could be endangered by the hostility of Indian foes.

Filled with that pride which goes before destruction, Braddock commenced his march from Will's Creek, on the 10th of June, at the head of about two thousand two hundred men. The advance of the army, unavoidably retarded by the natural impediments of the region it had to traverse, was additionally and unnecessarily obstructed by the stubborn adherence of Braddock, amidst the boundless woods and tangled thickets of America, to the system of military movements adapted to the open and extensive plains of Europe.¹ He was roused at length to greater vigor and activity by the intelligence that the French at Fort Duquesne expected a reinforcement of five hundred regular troops; whereupon, at the head of twelve hundred men whom he selected from the different corps, and

¹ "I find," said Washington, in a letter to his brother, "that, instead of pushing on with vigor, without regarding a little rough road, they are halting to level every mole-hill, and to erect bridges over every brook." In his character and fortune, Braddock seems to have resembled the Roman general, Varus.

with ten pieces of cannon and the necessary ammunition and provisions, he resolved to press forward to the point of destination, — leaving the residue of the army, under the command of Colonel Dunbar, to follow, with all the heavy baggage, by easy and leisurely marches. After a laborious progress, which was still unnecessarily retarded, and yet unaccompanied by the precaution of reconnoitring the woods, Braddock arrived at the Monongahela on the eighth of July, and encamped within ten miles of Fort Duquesne. Though Dunbar was now forty miles behind him, and the proximity of the enemy increased the danger of instantaneous attack, he prepared to advance the next day in his usual style of march, and expected to invest the French fortress without opposition. Sir Peter Halket and others of his officers now vainly entreated him to proceed with greater caution, to convert the column of march into an order of battle, and to employ the friendly Indians, who attended him, as an advanced guard, to explore and anticipate the probabilities of ambuscade. Not less vainly did Washington represent that the profound silence and apparent solitude of the gloomy scenes around them afforded no security in American warfare against deadly and imminent danger, and offer with the provincial troops to scour and occupy the woods in the front and on the flanks of the main body. Braddock treated with equal contempt the idea of aid and of hostility from Indian savages; and disdainfully rejecting the proposition of Washington, ordered the provincials to form the rearguard of the British force.

On the following day, this infatuated commander resumed his march [July 9, 1755], without having made the slightest attempt to gain intelligence of the situation or dispositions of the enemy. Three hundred British regulars, conducted by Colonel Gage, composed his van; and Braddock himself followed at some distance with the artillery and main body of the army divided into small columns. Thus incautiously advancing, and having arrived about noon within seven miles of Fort Duquesne, — in an open wood undergrown thickly with high grass, his troops were suddenly startled by the appalling sound of the Indian war-cry; and in the same moment a rattling shower of musketry was poured on their front and left flank from an

enemy so artfully concealed that not a man of them could be descried. The vanguard, staggered and daunted, fell back upon the main body ; and the firing being repeated with redoubled fury and without yet disclosing either the numbers or the position of the assailants, terror and confusion began to spread among the British troops ; and many of them sought safety in flight, notwithstanding all the efforts of their officers, some of whom behaved very gallantly, to recall and rally them. Braddock himself, if he ever possessed any of the higher qualities of a soldier, was in this emergence deserted of them all, and exhibited only an obstinate and unavailing bravery. Instead of raking the thickets and bushes whence the fire was poured with grape-shot from the ten pieces of cannon which he had with him, or pushing forward flanking parties of his Indians against the enemy, he confined his attention exclusively to the regular infantry. To them the only command which he should have addressed was either an instant retreat, or a rapid charge without regard to methodical order and regularity. He adopted neither of these expedients ; but, remaining on the ground where he was first attacked, under an incessant and galling fire, he directed the brave officers and men who continued with him to form in regular line and advance. Meanwhile his troops fell fast beneath the iron tempest that hissed around them, and almost all his officers were singled out one after another and killed or wounded ;¹ for the Indians, who always take deliberate and particular aim when they fire, and aim preferably at the officers, easily distinguished them by their dress. After an action of three hours, Braddock, under whom three horses were killed, and whose obstinacy seemed to increase with the danger, received a shot through the right arm and the lungs, and was carried off the field by Colonel Gage. All the officers on horseback, except Colonel Washington, were now killed or wounded, and the residue of the troops by whom the conflict had been maintained abandoned it in dismay and disorder. The provincials, who were among the last to leave the field,

¹ Among the few British officers who escaped with life and untarnished reputation, though severely wounded in this engagement, was Horatio Gates, who afterwards settled in America, and achieved a high rank and brilliant renown in the service of his adopted country during the Revolutionary War.

were rallied after the action by the skill and presence of mind of Washington, and covered the retreat of the regulars.¹ The defeat was complete.

About seven hundred of the British were killed or wounded, including a considerable proportion of the Virginian troops, and sixty-four out of eighty-five officers. Sir Peter Halket fell by the first fire at the head of his regiment; and the general's secretary, son to Governor Shirley, was killed soon after. The artillery, ammunition, and baggage were abandoned to the enemy; and the defeated army fled precipitately to the camp of Dunbar, where Braddock expired of his wounds.² Although no pursuit was attempted by the French, who afterwards gave out that their numbers, including Indian auxiliaries, had amounted only to four hundred men,³ and, with greater probability, that their loss in the action was perfectly insignificant, Dunbar, struck with astonishment and alarm, and finding that his troops were infected with the panic and disarray of the fugitives, hastily reconducted them to Will's Creek. Here letters were brought to him from the governors of Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, beseeching him to assist in defending the frontiers of these provinces, while they would endeavour to raise from the inhabitants reinforcements that might enable him yet to resume the enterprise against Fort Duquesne. But, diffident of his safety, he declined to accede to their desire; and abandoning his position at Will's Creek, pursued a hasty retreat to Philadelphia. Since their arrival in America, and especially during this retreat, the conduct of the British soldiers towards the American colonists was marked by licentious rapine and insolence; and it was generally declared of them that they were much more for-

¹ In a sermon, occasioned by this expedition, and preached soon after it, Dr. Davies, a Virginian clergyman, thus prophetically expressed himself:—"As a remarkable instance of patriotism, I may point out to the public that heroic youth, Colonel Washington, whom I cannot but hope Providence has hitherto preserved in so signal a manner for some important service to his country." Rogers.

² This unfortunate commander seems never to have surmounted the astonishment created by his defeat. "Who would have thought it? We shall know better how to deal with them another time," were his last words. Washington read the funeral service over his remains by the light of a torch.

³ According to more credible accounts, the total number of the French and Indians was nine hundred.

midable to the people whom they had been commissioned to defend, than to the enemy whom they had undertaken to conquer.

The issue of this expedition, and the different circumstances and result of the prior campaign in Nova Scotia, could not fail to awaken in the minds of the colonists impressions no less flattering to American genius and valor than unfavorable to British ascendancy. Nothing, indeed, could be more injurious to the dignity and influence of Britain, than that, at the very time when she first offended and mortified the colonists by the superiority which she arrogated to her own soldiers, these soldiers, commanded by a British general, should have incurred a disgraceful defeat by neglecting the advice of the provincial officers, and should have been saved from total destruction only by the firmness and valor of the provincial troops.¹ But the Virginians at present had little leisure for such considerations, amidst the calamitous consequences which immediately resulted from the defeat on the Ohio. Their frontiers were now exposed to the hostilities of a foe roused by a formidable attack, inflamed by a surprising victory, and additionally incited by the timidity displayed by Dunbar and his troops. A large addition to the militia of the province was decreed by the assembly; and the command of this force was bestowed on Colonel Washington, with the unusual privilege of appointing his own field-officers. But whether from a misdirected economy, or from the jealousy which they entertained of Governor Dinwiddie, the measures of the Virginian assembly were quite inadequate to the purpose of effectual defence. The skilful and indefatigable exertions of Washington, seconded by his militia with an admirable bravery and warmth of patriotic zeal,² proved unavailing to stem the furious and desolating

¹ "This whole transaction gave us Americans the first suspicions that our exalted ideas of the prowess of British regular troops had not been well founded." Franklin.

² A party of these militia having been conducted to the frontiers of Virginia during the winter, "the men, who were indifferently clothed, without tents, and exposed to the rigor and inclemency of the weather, discovered great aversion to the service, and were anxious, and even clamorous, to return to their families; when William Winston, a lieutenant in one of the companies, mounting the stump of a tree, addressed them with such keenness of invective, and declaimed with such force of eloquence on liberty and patriotism, that, when he concluded, the general cry was, 'Let us march on! lead us against

incursions of the French and Indians, who, dividing themselves into small parties and actively pursuing a system of predatory hostility, rendered the frontiers of Virginia and Pennsylvania a scene of carnage, terror, and desolation. In the scenes of this desultory warfare, unattended with glory, but replete with action, danger, and enterprise, did Washington qualify himself to sustain the greater and more arduous part which his destiny reserved for him.¹

The defeat sustained on the Ohio produced a very unpropitious effect on the enterprise which had been projected against Niagara, under the conduct of Shirley, whom Braddock's death advanced to the chief command of the British forces in North America. The troops destined both for this expedition and for the attack of Crown Point were ordered to assemble at Albany. Those whom Shirley was personally to lead consisted of certain regiments of regulars furnished by New England, New York, and New Jersey, and of a band of Indian auxiliaries. Various causes conspired to retard the commencement of his march; and while he was advancing to Oswego, the tidings of Braddock's defeat overtook him and spread consternation through his army. Many of the boatmen and sledgemen who were hired to transport the stores and provisions now began to desert; and the Indians discovered such backwardness to follow him, or even to adhere longer to the declining fortunes of England, that prudence induced him to consume a great deal of time in efforts but partially successful to restore their confidence and regain their good-will. On his arrival at Oswego [August 21, 1755], his forces were so much reduced by desertion, and the fidelity of the Indians appeared so precarious, that farther delay was rendered inevitable; and though he finally attempted to press forward with vigor to Niagara, he was compelled to abandon this design by a succession of heavy rains, the sickness of his troops, and the dispersion of the few Indians whose constancy endured some-

the enemy!' And they were now willing, nay, anxious, to encounter all those difficulties and dangers, which, but a few moments before, had almost produced a mutiny." *Wirt's Life of Henry.*

¹ *Franklin's Memoirs. Marshall's Life of Washington. Smollett. Burk. Trumbull. Rogers. Holmes. McGuire's Religious Opinions and Character of Washington.*

what longer than that of the rest of their countrymen. Leaving Colonel Mercer at Oswego, with a garrison of seven hundred men, and instructions to build two additional forts for the security of the place, Shirley reconducted his unsuccessful army to Albany.

The forces which were to proceed from Albany against Crown Point consisted of militia regiments, amounting to between five and six thousand men, supplied by the New England States and New York. By the advice of Shirley, the command of this expedition was intrusted to William Johnson, a native of Ireland, who had emigrated to New York, and was now a member of the council of this province. Johnson was distinguished by uncommon strength of body, and possessed a hardy, coarse, and vigorous mind, united with an ambitious and enterprising temper. He began life as a common soldier, and in the parent state could hardly have emerged above the level of this condition ; but in the colonies his genius and good fortune advanced him to wealth, title, and fame. For several years he had resided on the banks of the Mohawk River ; and, studiously cultivating the friendship of the Six Nations, had acquired a more powerful ascendant over them than any of his countrymen ever before enjoyed. In conformity with the expectation to which he owed his appointment, he prevailed with Hendrick, one of the chiefs of that confederacy, to join the expedition against Crown Point at the head of three hundred warriors of his tribe. Johnson, who received separate commissions from every American province which contributed to the enterprise, had never before witnessed a military campaign ; and his troops, except a few of the New Englanders who had shared in the reduction of Louisburg, were equally inexperienced. While Johnson was collecting his artillery and military stores, General Lyman, the second in command, advanced with the troops to the *carrying-place* between Hudson's River and Lake George, about sixty miles from Albany, and began to build a fortress, which received the name of Fort Edward, on the east side of the Hudson. Having joined his army, Johnson left a part of it as a garrison to Fort Edward, and towards the end of August proceeded with the main body to the southern extremity of Lake George.

Here he learned from his Indian scouts that a party of French and Indians had established a fort at Ticonderoga, which is situated on the isthmus between the north end of Lake George and the southern shore of Lake Champlain, about fifteen miles from Crown Point. As the fortifications at Ticonderoga were reported to be incomplete, Johnson, deeming that the conquest of the place would be attended with little difficulty, and regarding it as a key to the main object of his enterprise, was preparing to advance against it, when he was suddenly reduced to act on the defensive by the motions of the enemy, and the unexpected tidings that reached him of the force which they possessed.

Baron Dieskau, an able and experienced officer, had now arrived in Canada with a strong reinforcement of troops from France; and having collected a considerable army both of French and Indians, was advancing against the British settlements with the purpose of striking an important blow. Johnson hastened to transmit this alarming intelligence to the provinces whose troops he commanded, and especially to the government of Massachusetts,—together with an urgent request for further assistance, which he reckoned indispensable to the success of his enterprise and even to the safety of his army. The issue of this application affords another instance of that unconquerable spirit which distinguished the people of New England. Massachusetts had supplied the greatest part of the force which Johnson already commanded, and by her various military exertions incurred an expense disproportioned to her resources, and of which she anxiously solicited a reimbursement from the parent state. The reputation of Dieskau, and the advantage which he possessed in commanding disciplined troops, contrasted with the inexperience of Johnson and the American militia, gave rise to apprehensions, which, combining with the depression occasioned by Braddock's defeat, produced a general despair of the success of the expedition against Crown Point. But this was a favorite enterprise with the people of New England, and they were determined to persist in it as long as possible, and to support to the utmost of their power the brave men who were engaged in conducting it. A large subsidiary force was raised in Massachusetts, and despatched with the

hope of at least extricating Johnson and his army from the danger of being compelled to surrender to the superior power of the enemy. But the danger was over before this reinforcement reached the scene of action. Dieskau had been ordered to direct his first effort to the reduction of the British post at Oswego, of the importance of which the French government was fully aware; and he had already commenced his march for this purpose, when the tidings of Johnson's expedition induced him to reserve his force for the defence of Crown Point. Finding that Johnson's army, which was inferior both in number and experience, did not venture to approach, he determined to advance against it; and expecting an easy victory and the consequent fall of Fort Edward, proposed, as an ulterior measure, to invade Albany, to ravage the neighbouring settlements, and deprive the British of all communication with Oswego. His purpose would have succeeded, if the fate of the two armies had depended on the comparative skill of their commanders. But victory, though commonly, is not indefeasibly, the prize of either the skilful or the strong.

Johnson was apprized of Dieskau's approach, but ignorant both of his position and of his force; for the Indians, who were his scouts, had no words or signs for expressing any large number, and customarily pointed to the hair of their heads, or to the stars in the firmament, when they meant to denote any quantity which exceeded their reckoning. It was impossible to collect from their reports whether the French fell short of a thousand, or exceeded ten thousand in number. Yet, notwithstanding this uncertainty, Johnson, who had fortified his camp at Lake George, committed the rashness of detaching a thousand men, under the command of a brave officer, Colonel Ephraim Williams, together with Hendrick and the Indian auxiliaries, to attack the enemy. [September 6, 1755:] This detachment had hardly advanced three miles beyond the camp, when it found itself almost entirely surrounded by the French army, and, after a gallant but hopeless conflict, was defeated with some loss and put to flight. Williams fell in this encounter; and Hendrick,¹ with several of his Indians, who

¹ See Note XIV., at the end of the volume.

fought with heroic bravery, were also among the slain. The French, whose loss was not inferior, pursued the fugitives to their camp, and, had they made an instantaneous attack, they would probably have carried it; but, fortunately for its defenders, a pause took place, which, though short, gave time for their panic and confusion to subside. Dieskau had learned a few days before that Johnson had no cannon at his camp; and he was not aware, that, in the interim, a number of these engines had been seasonably transported to it from Fort Edward. Dismayed by the unexpected fire of this artillery, the Canadian militia and their Indian auxiliaries fled into the woods, whence the discharges of their musketry against a fortified camp produced little effect. The French regulars, however, maintained their ground, and with them, Dieskau, in an engagement which was prolonged for several hours, conducted a vigorous assault upon Johnson's position. Johnson displayed a firm and intrepid spirit during his brief participation in the commencement of the action; but having soon received a painful wound, he was compelled to retire to his tent and abandon the command to Lyman. Under the conduct of this American officer, his countrymen defended their camp with such resolution and success, that the French were finally repulsed with the loss of nearly a thousand men. Dieskau was mortally wounded and taken prisoner; and his discomfited forces, assembling at some distance and preparing to refresh themselves with food, were suddenly attacked by a small party of New York and New Hampshire militia commanded by Captains Folsom and M'Ginnes, and, flying in confusion, left the whole of their baggage and ammunition a prey to the victors. In the various conflicts by which this important day was signalized, there were killed or mortally wounded about a hundred and thirty of the British provincials, and among others Captain M'Ginnes, by whom the success was completed, and Colonel Titcomb of Massachusetts, who had previously gained the praise of distinguished bravery at the siege of Louisburg.

Now was the time for the British to improve the advantage they had won, and reap the full fruit of their victory by a vigorous pursuit of the flying enemy and by investing Crown Point, which, from the smallness of its garri-

son, and the impression produced by the defeat of Dieskau, would have probably afforded them an easy conquest. But Johnson was less desirous of extending the public advantage than of reaping and securing his own personal share in it ; and sensible of the claim he had acquired on royal favor, he was averse to expose it, while yet unrewarded, to the hazard of diminution. He directed his troops to strengthen the fortifications of his camp, in utter disregard of the spirited counsel of Shirley, who pressed him to resume active operations, and at least to dislodge the French from Ticonderoga before they had time to fortify this post and recover from their surprise and consternation. Whether from negligence or from a politic deference to the sentiments of the British court, he maintained scarcely any communication with the New England governments, and sent the French general and the other prisoners to New York, — although Massachusetts had claimed the distinction of receiving them, as due to the preponderance of her interest in the army by which they were taken. With the additional troops lately raised in this province, and which were now united to Johnson's original and victorious army, it was not doubted that he would still attempt some farther enterprise before the close of the year. But he suffered the opportunity to pass by, and consumed the time in lingering and irresolute deliberation, till, by the advice of a council of war, the attack of Crown Point, and all other active operations, were abandoned for the present season. [October, 1755.] His army was then disbanded, with the exception of six hundred men, who were appointed to garrison Fort Edward, and another strong fort which was erected at the southern extremity of Lake George and received the name of Fort William Henry.

The French, taking advantage of Johnson's remissness, exerted themselves to strengthen Ticonderoga ; while their Indian allies, provoked by the conflict at Lake George, and encouraged by the seeming timidity or incapacity of the victor, indulged their revenge and animosity in furious and destructive ravages on the frontiers of Massachusetts and New Hampshire. The British colonists, though at first highly elated with the victory over Dieskau, perceived with chagrin and disappointment that the advantages of it were entirely thrown away, and that

the issue of an enterprise which began with a signal defeat of the enemy had been to render the chief object of it more difficult of attainment than it was before. Nor was their dissatisfaction abated by perceiving that Johnson alone derived any substantial benefit from the victory, and that to him exclusively was the gratitude of Britain expressed for the first battle in which the honor of her arms had been vindicated since the commencement of hostilities with France. In Johnson's reports of the action at Lake George he assumed the whole merit of it to himself; and while the superior claims of Lyman and other native Americans were unknown, or at least unnoticed, in England, Johnson received from the king the dignity of a baronet, together with the office of royal superintendent of Indian affairs, and from the parliament a grant of five thousand pounds, which was in fact paid by the colonies, as it was deducted from the sum of one hundred and fifteen thousand pounds voted this year by the House of Commons to New-England, New York, and New Jersey, in consideration of the burdens entailed upon them by the war.¹

While the British colonies were thus balked of the fruits which might have been reaped from the victory at Lake George, the French, with politic and assiduous exertion, were cultivating the advantage they obtained at Fort Duquesne. They were particularly successful in improving the favorable impression of their genius and good fortune which the defeat of Braddock produced on the Indian tribes inhabiting the territory adjacent to the river Ohio; and in the course of this year, some of their emissaries, united with envoys deputed by these tribes, made their first attempt to seduce the Cherokees, who had been hitherto the firmest Indian allies of Britain. This nation differed in some respects from all the other branches of the Indian race,² and especially from those roving tribes who possessed no fixed or constant habitations. From time immemorial they had occupied the territory which they still inhabited; and in speaking of their forefathers, customarily affirmed that

¹ Smollett. Trumbull. Minot. Hutchinson. Belknap. Dwight's *Travels*. The sum awarded to the colonies was a very inadequate compensation.

² "They are seldom intemperate in drinking, but when they can be so on free cost. Otherwise, love of drink yields to covetousness; a vice scarcely to be found in any Indian but a Cherokee." John Wesley's *Journal*.

“they sprung from that ground,” or that “they descended from the clouds upon those hills.” They termed the Europeans *Nothings*, and themselves *the beloved people*. Hitherto they had regarded the French with especial aversion, and contemptuously remarked of them, that they were light as a feather, fickle as the wind, and deceitful as serpents; and valuing themselves on the grave and stately decorum of their own manners, they resented the sprightly levity of French deportment as an unpardonable insult. But now the chief warrior of the Cherokees sent in haste a message to Glen, the governor of South Carolina, acquainting him with the intrigues of the French and their Indian partisans, and advising him to hold a general conference with the Cherokee tribes, and to renew the former treaties of his countrymen with them. Glen, sensible of the importance of securing the favor of these powerful tribes, who at this time could bring about three thousand warriors into the field, willingly acceded to the proposition of a conference, and met the chiefs of the Cherokees in their own country, at a place two hundred miles distant from Charleston. The conference that ensued lasted about a week, and terminated in the renovation of a friendly league, and in an arrangement, by which, to the satisfaction of both parties, a large section of their territory was ceded by the Indians to the king of Great Britain. This acquisition, which was defined by deeds of conveyance executed by the chiefs of the Cherokees in the name of their people, occasioned the removal of the Indians to a greater distance from the English, and enabled the inhabitants of Carolina to extend their settlements into the interior of the country in proportion to the increase of their numbers. Soon after the cession took place, Governor Glen built a fort, which was named Prince George, at a spot on Savannah River about three hundred miles from Charleston, and within gunshot of an Indian town called Keowee. It contained barracks for a hundred men, and was designed for the security of the western frontiers of Carolina.¹

To the tumult and agitation of war in North America there was now added the terror inspired by an earthquake, of which

¹ Hewit.

the shock was more violent than any that had ever before been experienced in this quarter of the world. [November 18, 1755.] It continued at least four minutes ; and, shaping its course from northwest to southeast, caused the earth and its warring inhabitants to tremble throughout an extent of nineteen hundred miles. The most remarkable effect of this convulsion of nature was the diffusion of an increased warmth and solemnity of religious sentiment among the people of New England, who, in all seasons of danger and alarm, still, like their excellent forefathers, elevated their view from secondary causes to that Being without whose permission and appointment no evil can assault and no danger menace. The impression thus produced on their minds was additionally heightened by the tidings that arrived, shortly after, of the dreadful catastrophe which in the same month attended the great earthquake at Lisbon. In the fate of the Portuguese the pious New Englanders recognized, with emotions of awe and admiration, the extremity of their own danger and the magnitude of their deliverance ; and the government of Massachusetts, in particular, solemnized the general alarm by appointing a day of humiliation and prayer, “ in acknowledgment of the distinguishing mercy of God, and in submission to his righteous judgments.”¹

In the close of this year [December 12, 1755], Shirley, prompted by his enterprising temper, and entitled by his supreme command of the British forces in America to take the lead in all measures and deliberations for the general defence, convoked a council of war at New York, which was attended by the governors of this province and of Connecticut, Maryland, and Pennsylvania. Here a plan of operations for the next campaign was concerted on a very extensive scale ; but in order to the definitive adoption of this or any other general plan, it was necessary that it should be canvassed and approved by the assemblies of all the provinces which were to participate in its execution ; and this preliminary arrangement was always embarrassed by difficulties and obstructions. Shirley had found and still continued to find it no easy matter to persuade the assembly of Massachusetts to embark as deeply as he wished

¹ S. Smith. Minot.

in military enterprise ; and his urgency with them, coöperating with the jealousy awakened by his appointment to the chief command of the forces in America, provoked an opposition against him, which only his prudence and conciliatory address prevented from becoming formidable to his authority. A rivalry, which arose out of the expedition against Crown Point, between New York and Massachusetts, proved favorable to Shirley's popularity in his own province, though it obstructed the concert and harmony between the legislatures of those States.¹ We have already had occasion to advert to the causes by which disunion and distrust were promoted between the governors and assemblies of several of the other North American provinces.

The conduct of public affairs was more embarrassed by political dissension in Pennsylvania than in any of the other colonies. Hamilton, the governor of this province, a worthy and honorable man, impatient of the continual disputes with the assembly to which he was exposed by his fidelity to the instructions of the proprietaries, resigned his office in 1754, and was succeeded by Robert Hunter Morris, son of Lewis Morris, governor of New Jersey. Morris, an ingenious man, but wrong-headed humorist, inheriting the peculiar taste and temper of his father, delighted above measure in argument and controversy, and gladly embraced the prospect of such a scene of disputation as the presidency over the Quaker politicians of Pennsylvania was likely to afford. But either he undervalued the controversial vigor and spleen which the provincial assembly was endowed with, or he overvalued his own power of retorting and enduring its hostility. A series of interminable disputes with this body, into which he plunged directly after his assumption of the government, soon degenerated into the most violent and even scurrilous altercations, wherein he found himself completely overmatched both in acrimony and perseverance of vituperation by his Quaker antagonists. "His administration," says Franklin, "was a continual battle, in which he labored hard to blacken the assembly, who wiped off his coloring as fast as he laid it on, and placed it in return thick

¹ Minot.

upon his own face." With all his relish for disputation, and the advantage of a continual flow of mirth and good-humor,¹ it is surprising that Morris should have sustained, for two years, such a contest with a party supported by the exhaustless resources of Quaker conceit and pertinacity, and supplied with the sharpest artillery of wit by the pen of Franklin, who, as clerk of the assembly, lent his aid in digesting the effusions of its spleen and ingenuity. At length, in defiance of his anticipations, this governor, like his predecessor, became completely disgusted with his office, and, resigning it in 1756, was succeeded by William Denny, an Englishman, and a captain in the British army.

These dissensions were chiefly occasioned by the meanness and avarice of the proprietaries, who prohibited their lieutenants or governors from consenting to any tax upon provincial property, unless their own large revenues, derived from quit-rents, and all the lands which they had acquired from the Indians, but had not yet cultivated nor farmed out to the colonists, were exempted from its operation. Engrossed with the interest of this dispute, and alarmed by the menacing aspect of public affairs, the Quaker majority in the Pennsylvanian assembly seemed of late to have waived or abated their repugnance to military operations. They passed bills for levying ten thousand pounds to purchase provisions for the troops appointed to march against Crown Point; and fifty thousand pounds in aid of Braddock's expedition against Fort Duquesne. But these bills produced only a repetition of disputes with the governor, who vainly offered to affirm them, on condition of his being allowed to modify one of their clauses by the alteration of a single word. The clause to which he referred enacted, "that all estates, real and personal, were to be taxed; those of the proprietaries not excepted"; and his proposition was, that the word *not* should be cancelled, and the word *only* substituted in its place. The disaster at Fort Duquesne occasioned a temporary suspension of this controversy, and gave rise to measures which produced a remarkable change in the political state of Pennsylvania. When the tidings

¹ See Note XV., at the end of the volume.

of that disgraceful defeat arrived in England, the partisans of the provincial assembly found it easy to direct the public irritation against the proprietary family. The English willingly vented their impatience and mortification in clamorous reproach of the selfishness and injustice of the policy pursued by the proprietaries ; and some persons went so far as to maintain, that, by obstructing the defence of the province, they had forfeited their right to administer its government. Intimidated by this expression of public feeling in England, the proprietaries commanded their receiver-general to add five thousand pounds of their money to whatever sum might be levied by the assembly for the common defence. This overture, being reported to the assembly, was accepted in lieu of a direct contingent to a general tax ; and a new bill, imposing an assessment of sixty thousand pounds on the province for the purpose of military defence, with an exemption of the proprietary estates, was accordingly passed into a law. Contemporary with this law, and the fruit partly of Franklin's address, and partly of the general alarm that prevailed, was a bill, which, though it encountered some Quaker opposition, was yet ratified by a majority of the assembly, for embodying and training a regiment of provincial militia to be raised by voluntary enlistment. It was provided, with special and unnecessary precaution, that no member of the Quaker society should be required to serve in the regiment that was thus directed to be raised. This superfluous clause, which, if it had really conveyed any additional advantage or security, should have also included the Moravian settlers, was probably intended as an empty compliment to the still extant but declining political preponderance of the Quakers in Pennsylvania. So strong and general at this time was the military spirit that had been aroused in this province, that some even of the Moravian societies declared their approbation of defensive war, and, fortifying their settlements, prepared to repel hostile aggression.¹

¹ The first Moravian colony in North Carolina also fortified their settlement, Williamson.

The Quakers in New Jersey, it would seem, did not at this period enjoy an exemption from military service. A distinguished member of their society relates, that, in the year 1757, a number of Quakers were summoned to join the New Jersey militia, and march against the French and Indians ; and that

The Pennsylvanian Quakers now began to perceive the impossibility of reconciling the preservation of their sectarian principles with the administration of political power in the colony which their fathers had planted. It was chiefly with the hope of cultivating those principles, and exhibiting them to the world in a high degree of practical perfection,¹ that they originally incurred the lot of exiles and undertook the cares of government. But, step by step, they had been led on to pursue a career, as colonists and politicians, on which, as votaries of Quakerism, it was impossible for them to reflect with satisfaction. The first signal dereliction of their principles was the appropriation of negro slaves, — an evil, which, of late years, had spread with rank and baleful increase among them. Professing unbounded meekness and patience, they distinguished themselves in their provincial assembly by extreme contentiousness and susceptibility of provocation, and by the promptitude and inveteracy with which they resented and retorted every injury and affront. They were at an early period seduced into a covert sanction of war, and now permitted a militia law to pass in an assembly of which they possessed the command. But there always existed a party among the Quakers by whom these evils were deplored ; and now the society in general began to open their eyes to the inconsistency of which they were guilty, and to the inevitable fruits of its farther continuance. They perceived that it was vain to pretend any longer to control by Quaker principle the proceedings of an assembly in which they had assented to a militia law ; they foresaw that the British government would (as it actually did) forthwith endeavour to obtain a farther participation in military measures from the assembly ; and justly concluded that they themselves must now either renounce entirely their political capacity, or consent to merge entirely the Quaker in the politician. They chose, though with reluctance, the alternative most creditable to their sectarian sincerity and personal disinterestedness ; and,

several consented to obey the requisition. He reproaches many professors of Quakerism with evincing no other fruits of their pretended principles, except aversion to the danger and fatigues of war ; and represents a great majority of the society as consenting to pay war taxes ; adding, " that a carnal mind is gaining upon us, I believe, will not be denied." *John Woolman's Journal.*

¹ See Note XV., at the end of Volume II.

with a rare virtue, adhered to their religious principles and resigned the political authority which they had enjoyed since the foundation of the colony. Their administration of power was characterized by nothing so becoming and praiseworthy as the grace with which it was thus surrendered ; and yet, with all their failings and infirmities, they had rendered it instrumental in no mean degree to the welfare and happiness of the community over which they presided. So frugal was their system of government, that the produce of the custom-house and a small excise had proved sufficient to defray the ordinary public expenditure. The remarkable proceeding which we have commemorated was not all at once carried into general effect ; but a number of Quakers now seceded from the assembly, and declined to accept the offices of government under a political system by which a military establishment was sanctioned ; and their example was gradually followed by others of their fellow-sectaries, till, first, the Quaker majority was extinguished in the assembly, and, at length, few or no Quakers at all remained in this body.¹

This policy proved no less favorable to the personal happiness and virtue of the Pennsylvanian Quakers than advantageous to their sectarian fame. Dedicating henceforward to philanthropic labors the talents that political debate had absorbed and perverted, they caused the genuine principles of Quaker equity and benevolence to shine forth with a strength and lustre that gradually purged off all or nearly all the peculiar stains and specks that Quakerism had contracted in America. By a remarkable, and surely not an accidental coincidence, the secession of the Quakers from political office, which now began to take place, was contemporary with their first decisive effort as a religious society to arrest the progress of negro slavery.

We have seen² that the Quaker society of Pennsylvania, so early as the year 1688, condemned the conduct that was pursued by many of its own members, by issuing a declaration of the unlawfulness of negro slavery. Although this declaration

¹ Proud. Franklin's *Memoirs*. Brissot's *Travels*. See Note XVI., at the end of the volume.

² *Ante*, Book VII., Chap. II.

served merely to guard the purity of Quaker theory in America, without visibly affecting the general Quaker practice, there were not wanting individual members of this sect who practically recognized its validity, and labored with zealous benevolence to propagate their own superior virtue among their countrymen. Burling, a Quaker inhabitant of Long Island, published a tract against slavery in the year 1718. Sandiford, a Quaker merchant in Philadelphia, published a work on the same subject, under the title of *The Mystery of Iniquity*, in 1729. Similar compositions, reinforced by the personal example of their authors, were given to the world by three remarkable Quakers, — Benjamin Lay, of Pennsylvania, a benevolent enthusiast, but whimsical and eccentric in his general behaviour, and occasionally disordered in his understanding; John Woolman, of New Jersey, whose admirable and unwearied exertions to elevate the morality of his countrymen and the condition of the Africans may, perhaps, entitle him to be regarded as the Clarkson of America; and Anthony Benezet, a native of Picardy, who had emigrated to Pennsylvania in 1731, and who united a fine genius and all the accomplishments of an elegant scholar to a heart that was the seat of every humane virtue and religious sentiment. Devoting himself to the education of youth, Benezet inculcated upon all his pupils an abhorrence of slavery, and reared a generation of Quakers the determined and uncompromising adversaries of this injustice.¹ We have learned from the testimony of Kalm, the traveller, and other authorities, that, about the middle of the eighteenth century, various individual Quakers illustrated their justice, and the consistency of their conduct with their principles, by emancipating their slaves. Yet the number

¹ Benezet was the first person in North America who conceived and conducted the benevolent enterprises of educating the deaf and dumb and of restoring to life persons apparently drowned. His exertions in behalf of the negroes commenced in the year 1750. The celebrated Patrick Henry, of Virginia (in a letter preserved in Vaux's *Life of Benezet*), declares that Benezet's writings had opened his eyes to the iniquity of negro slavery, condemns himself for his possession of slaves, — and, protesting that he yields to the strong current of general practice, expresses his hope of the future emancipation of the negro race, and recommends meanwhile to all slave-owners the exercise of gentleness and kindness towards their sable dependents, and every practicable means of ameliorating their unhappy lot. Perhaps the most signal and admirable effect of the writings of Benezet was the impression they produced on the mind of Clarkson.

of slaves possessed by the Quakers in general had continued to increase ;¹ a fact which was noticed and deplored in a circular letter addressed, in the year 1754, by the Quaker society of Pennsylvania to its members. In this letter the society contented itself with exhorting the Quaker inhabitants of Pennsylvania and New Jersey to desist from purchasing and importing any more slaves, and to treat the negroes already in their possession with a tender consideration. But in the present year it advanced a step farther, and embraced a resolution by which its ecclesiastical officers, termed *elders* or *overseers*, were directed to report the conduct of every Quaker within its jurisdiction, who should purchase or import additional slaves ; and offenders in this respect, though not visited with the extreme penalty of excommunication, were excluded from the more select meetings of the society, and from the privilege of contributing to support its pecuniary funds ; — a penal infliction, it must be confessed, more creditable to its authors than formidable to the persons who were likely to be its objects. Whether the penalty was inflicted or not, it is certain that the measure, in its immediate operation, produced little, if any, visible good ; many Quakers persisted in purchasing slaves ; and some continued even engaged in the slave-trade. This, however, was the first step in a line of policy, which, pursued with steady virtue and increasing determination, conducted the American Quakers, about twenty years after, to that magnanimous proceeding by which a great majority of their society emancipated all their slaves, and excommunicated every member who declined to incur the same sacrifice.²

From the agreeable contemplation of the revival and practical illustration of Quaker virtue, we must now return to trace the progress of national enmity and strife. Although a war between

¹ It appears also, from the testimony of John Woolman, that, although some Quakers used their slaves kindly, and endeavoured to communicate instruction to them, their conduct in these respects was neither imitated nor approved by the majority of their fellow-sectaries. In Woolman's interesting journal a curious account is preserved of a discussion between himself and some other Quakers, who had adopted the apologetic theory, that negroes are the offspring of Ham, and as such divinely doomed to a life of hardship and bondage.

² Clarkson's *History of the Abolition of the Slave-trade*. Vaux's *Life of Benezet*. Woolman's *Journal*. And communications (received in 1824) from an aged and intelligent Pennsylvanian Quaker.

Woolman remarks, that the first proposition to the Quaker society to punish farther importations and purchases of negroes originated with Quakers who themselves possessed slaves whom they declined to emancipate.

the French and English had been openly on foot for more than two years in America, it had not yet been formally proclaimed. The British government, conscious of the moderation (not to say the timidity) of its own views, obstinately clung to the hope that peace might yet be established by an amicable arrangement and upon solid foundations; and the French court, transported by immoderate ambition, and yet more misled by reliance on ignoble cunning and intrigue, studiously encouraged that hope, with the view of relaxing the vigor of British hostility. But at length, all prospect of accommodation having ceased, a formal declaration of war was published by Great Britain [May 17, 1756], and followed soon after by a counter proclamation from France, whose cabinet apparently cherished the hope that an attack upon the English monarch's German possessions, to which from birth and education he was notoriously much more attached than to England, might alarm him into a modification of his pretensions in America.¹ A reinforcement of troops had been despatched to America two months before this event, under General Abercrombie, who was appointed to supersede Shirley in the chief command of the British forces. An act of parliament² was passed for enabling the king to grant the rank and pay of military officers to a limited number of foreign Protestants residing and naturalized in the colonies. This act, which was not passed without a strong opposition in England, excited great discontent and apprehension in America.³ Another contemporary statute⁴ empowered the king's officers to recruit their regiments by enlisting the indentured servants of the colonists, with the consent of their masters.

The plan of operations for this year's campaign was concerted in the council of provincial governors at New York. It was proposed to raise ten thousand men for an expedition

¹ *London Annual Register* for 1758. Smollett. Raynal. "The hostilities hitherto waged," says Raynal, "had been rather countenanced than openly avowed by the respective parent states. This clandestine mode of carrying on the war was perfectly agreeable to the ministry at Versailles, as it afforded an opportunity of recovering, by degrees, and without exposing their weakness, what they had lost by treaties, at a time when the enemy had imposed their own terms. But repeated checks at last opened the eyes of Great Britain, and disclosed the political system of her rival."

² 29 George II., Cap. 5.

³ See Note XVII., at the end of the volume.

⁴ 29 George II., Cap. 35.

against Crown Point ; six thousand for an attempt upon Niagara ; and three thousand for the attack of Fort Duquesne. In addition to this large force, and in aid of its operations, it was resolved that two thousand men should proceed up the river Kennebec, destroy the French settlements on the river Chaudière, and, advancing to its mouth, within three miles of Quebec, distract the attention of the enemy and spread alarm through all the adjacent quarter of Canada. To facilitate the reduction of Crown Point, it was proposed to take advantage of the season when the lakes should be frozen in order to seize Ticonderoga ; but this measure was rendered impracticable by the unusual mildness of the winter.

The command of the expedition against Crown Point was intrusted to General Winslow, who, on reviewing the provincial troops destined for this service, found their number to amount only to about seven thousand ; a force, which, after deducting from it the garrisons required at various places, appeared inadequate to the enterprise. The arrival of the British troops under Abercrombie, while it supplied the deficiency, created a new difficulty, which for a while suspended the expedition. Much disgust was excited in America by the regulations of the crown respecting military rank ; and Winslow, when consulted on this delicate point by Abercrombie, avowed his apprehension, that, if the result of a junction of the British and provincial troops should be to place the provincials under British officers, it would provoke general discontent, and probably occasion extensive desertion. To avoid so serious an evil, it was finally arranged, that the provincials, taking the lead, should advance against the enemy, and that at the forts and other posts which they were progressively to quit, the regulars should succeed to their stations and perform the duty of garrisons. This matter was hardly settled, when the discussion of it was again renewed by the Earl of Loudoun, who now arrived in America to succeed Abercrombie as commander-in-chief of the British forces, and with the additional appointment of governor of Virginia. [July, 1756.] An unusual extent of authority was delegated to Lord Loudoun by his commission ; and from some parts of the subsequent conduct of this nobleman, it would seem that he was prompted either by his instructions, or by his own disposition,

to render his power at least as formidable to the British colonists as to the enemy. He gravely demanded of the officers of the New England regiments, if they and their troops were willing to act in conjunction with the British regulars, and to obey the king's commander-in-chief, as his Majesty had directed. To this the provincial officers unanimously replied, that they cheerfully submitted themselves in all dutiful obedience to Lord Loudoun, and were ready and willing to act in conjunction with the royal forces ; but that, as the New England troops had been enlisted this year on particular terms, and had proceeded thus far according to their original compact and organization, they entreated as a favor that Lord Loudoun would permit them to act separately, so far as might be consistent with the interests of his Majesty's service. His Lordship having acceded to their desire, this point of honor seemed at length to be satisfactorily adjusted ; when suddenly the plan of the British campaign was disconcerted by the alarming intelligence of an important advantage obtained by the French.

The Marquis de Montcalm, an officer of high reputation for vigor and ability, who succeeded Baron Dieskau in the chief command of the French forces in Canada, conducting an army of five thousand regulars, Canadian militia, and Indians, by a rapid march, to Oswego, invested one of the two forts which the British possessed there ; and having promptly made the necessary dispositions, opened his trenches at midnight with thirty-two pieces of cannon, besides several brass mortars and howitzers. [August 12, 1756.] The scanty stock of ammunition with which the garrison had been supplied was soon exhausted ; and Colonel Mercer, the commander, thereupon spiked his guns, and, evacuating the place, carried his troops without the loss of a single man into the other fort. Upon this stronghold a heavy fire was speedily poured by the enemy from the deserted post, of which they assumed possession ; and Mercer having been killed by a cannon-ball, the garrison, dismayed by his loss and disappointed in an attempt to procure aid from Fort George, situated about four miles and a half up the river, where Colonel Schuyler was posted, demanded a capitulation and surrendered as prisoners of war. The garrison consisted of the regiments of Shirley and Pepperell, and amounted to

one thousand four hundred men. The conditions of surrender were that the prisoners should be exempted from plunder, conducted to Montreal, and treated with humanity. But these conditions were violated in a manner disgraceful to the warfare of the French. It was the duty of Montcalm to guard his engagements from the danger of infringement by his savage allies; and yet he instantly delivered up twenty of his prisoners to the Indians who accompanied him, as victims to their vengeance for an equal number of their own race who perished in the siege. Nor was the remainder of the captive garrison protected from the cruelty and indignity with which these savages customarily embittered the fate of the vanquished. Almost all of them were plundered; many were scalped; and some were assassinated. In the two forts, the victors obtained possession of one hundred and twenty-one pieces of artillery, fourteen mortars, and a great quantity of military stores and provisions.¹ A number of sloops and boats at the same time fell into their hands. No sooner was Montcalm in possession of the forts, than, with judicious policy, he demolished them both in presence of the Indians of the Six Nations, within whose territory they were erected, and whose jealousy they had not a little awakened.

In consequence of this disastrous event, all the plans of offensive operation that had been concerted on the part of the British were abandoned. Winslow was commanded by Lord Loudoun not to proceed on his intended expedition against Ticonderoga and Crown Point, but to fortify his camp; while General Webb, with fourteen hundred British regulars, and Sir William Johnson, with a thousand militia, were stationed at positions fitted to support Winslow and repel the farther attacks which were anticipated from the French. The projected expedition up the Kennebec, to destroy the settlements on the Chaudière, terminated in a mere scouting-party which explored the country. The enterprise proposed against Fort Duquesne was not carried into effect. Virginia declined to participate farther in the general warfare than by defensive

¹ "Such an important magazine deposited in a place altogether indefensible, and without the reach of immediate succour, was a flagrant proof of egregious folly, temerity, and misconduct." Smollett.

operations ; and even these were conducted on a scale inadequate to the protection of her own people. Pennsylvania raised fifteen hundred men, but with no other view than to guard her frontier settlements ; and Maryland, whose frontier was covered by the adjoining provinces, remained completely inactive. In South Carolina the slaves were so much more numerous than the white inhabitants, that it was judged unsafe to detach any troops from this province. A fort was now built on Tennessee River, about five hundred miles from Charleston, and called Fort Loudoun ; and this, together with Fort Prince George and Fort Moore on the Savannah River, and the forts of Frederica and Augusta, was garrisoned by the king's independent companies of infantry embodied for the protection of Carolina and Georgia. Lord Loudoun, whether perplexed by the inferiority of his capacity to the difficulties of his situation, or justly accounting that the season was too far advanced to admit of any enterprise against the enemy, confined his attention to the preparation of an early campaign in the ensuing spring, and to the immediate security of the frontiers of the British colonies. Fort Edward and Fort William Henry were put in a posture of defence, and secured each with a competent garrison ; and the remainder of the British forces were placed in winter-quarters at Albany, where barracks were built for their reception. The French, meanwhile, sacked a small fort and settlement called Grenville, on the confines of Pennsylvania, and, in conjunction with their Indian allies, carried ravage and desolation into many of the frontier settlements of the British provinces. But these losses were in some measure balanced by the advantage resulting from a treaty of peace which the governor of Pennsylvania concluded with the Delaware Indians, — a powerful tribe that dwelt on the river Susquehannah, and formed as it were a line or belt along the southern skirts of this province. At the same time, the government of Virginia secured the friendship and alliance of the tribes of the Cherokees and Catawbas. Notwithstanding some appearances of an opposite import, it was expected that a vigorous effort would be made by the British in the ensuing campaign to retrieve their recent disasters and humble the insolence of the enemy, — the more especially, as in the close of this year a fresh reinforce-

ment of troops, with a large supply of warlike stores, was despatched in fourteen transports, and under convoy of two British ships of war, from Cork to North America.

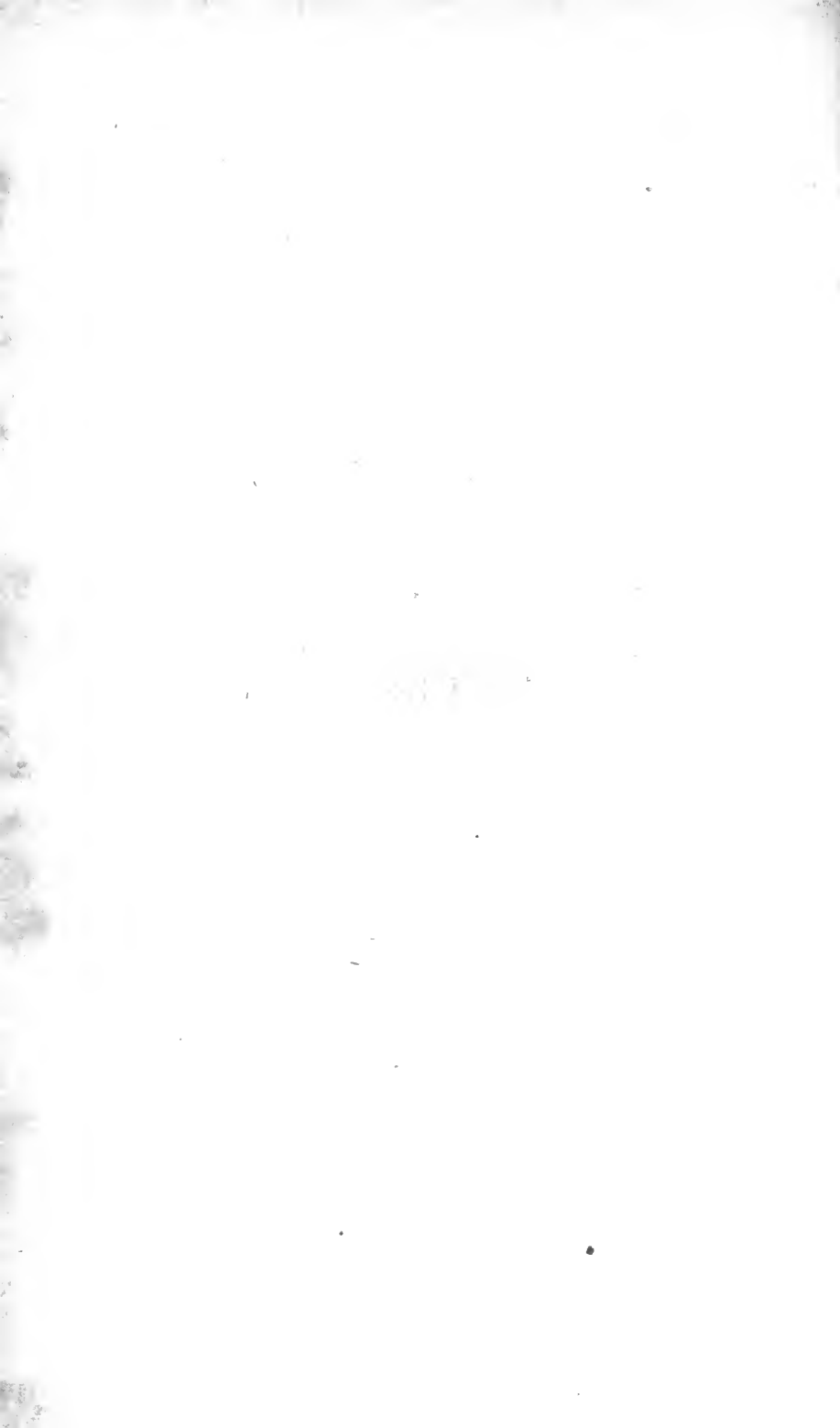
Much discontent and impatience had been latterly excited in England by the events of the war, which was conducted still more unhappily in other parts of the world than in the American provinces. The nation, exasperated by the triumphs of France, was eager to shift from itself the scandal of occurrences so humiliating to its pride and glory ; and attempts the most impudent and absurd were made to load the Americans with the blame both of Braddock's defeat and of every other calamity and disappointment which they had partaken with the British forces. Among other individuals who were now sacrificed by the British court, as victims partly to its own mortification and partly to popular displeasure, was Shirley, the governor of Massachusetts, who was recalled¹ this year to England, and appointed soon after to the government of the Bahama Islands. Shirley at a subsequent period returned to Massachusetts, where he died in a private station ; and though he had held some of the most lucrative offices within the gift of the crown in America, he bequeathed to his posterity little else but a reputation rather honorable than illustrious, and in which merit and virtue were acknowledged to preponderate over imperfection and infirmity. More sanguine and eager than deliberate and collected, he studied always with greater diligence to extend his fame than to guard and adorn the distinction which he had already acquired. Prompted by the ardor of his disposition and by the pride of success, he had latterly courted and accepted an extent of command to which his capacity was inadequate ; and which he was besides unfitted to administer satisfactorily both to the parent state and to the colonies, by the concurrence of his conscientious or interested zeal for royal prerogative with his generous or politic respect for American liberty. Without either stiffly asserting or expressly waiving the pretensions of the crown to have a fixed salary attached to the office he enjoyed in Massachusetts, he contrived, with the approbation of

¹ Perhaps, also, the intrigues of Sir William Johnson, who, with ungrateful jealousy, endeavoured to prejudice the British court against Shirley, contributed in part to his recall.

the colonists, and without censure from the parent state, to accept the periodical allotments of salary which the provincial assembly was willing to bestow upon him. His connection with the glory of New England, his conciliating manners, and his steady regard for the privileges and sentiments of the people moderated the opposition of his political adversaries in the colony. His recent inability to command success, and his devotion to the crown, induced the British ministers to displace without ruining him. It was more than a year after his departure before a successor was appointed to his office, which, in the interval, was administered by Spencer Phips, a prudent and honorable man, nephew of Sir William Phips, the first royal governor of Massachusetts after the British Revolution. The vacated dignity of Shirley was then conferred on Thomas Pownall, an Englishman, formerly lieutenant-governor of New Jersey, and related to persons holding high official situations in the parent state. The policy of this officer was the very reverse of that which Shirley had pursued, and led him to devote himself unreservedly to the views and wishes of the popular party in Massachusetts.¹

¹ Smollett. Minot. Hutchinson. Trumbull. Belknap. Eliot's *New England Biographical Dictionary*. Burk. Hewit.

NOTES.



NOTES

TO

THE THIRD VOLUME.

NOTE I. Page 91.

THE people of New England were not in this respect more credulous than the inhabitants of the parent state. A shock of an earthquake having been experienced in London on the 8th of February, 1750, and another somewhat more violent on the 8th of the following March, a common soldier, disordered in his intellects, began to preach in the streets, "and boldly prophesied that the next shock would happen on the same day of April, and totally destroy the cities of London and Westminster. Considering the infectious nature of fear and superstition, and the emphatic manner in which the imagination had been prepared and prepossessed, it was no wonder that the prediction of this illiterate enthusiast should have contributed in a great measure to augment the general terror. The churches were crowded with penitent sinners; the sons of riot and profligacy were overawed with sobriety and decorum. The streets no longer resounded with execrations, or the noise of brutal licentiousness; and the hand of charity was liberally opened. Those whom fortune had enabled to retire from the devoted city fled to the country in hurry and precipitation, insomuch that the highways were encumbered with horses and carriages. Many who had in the beginning combated these groundless fears with the weapons of reason and ridicule began insensibly to imbibe the contagion, and felt their hearts fail in proportion as the hour of probation approached; even science and philosophy were not proof against the unaccountable effects of this communication. In after ages it will hardly be believed, that, on the evening of the 8th of April, the open fields that skirt the metropolis were filled with an incredible number of people assembled in chairs, in chaises, and coaches, as well as on foot, who waited in the most fearful suspense until morning and the return of day disproved the truth of the dreaded prophecy. Then their fears vanished; they returned to their respective habitations in

a transport of joy ; and were soon reconciled to their abandoned vices, which they seemed to resume with redoubled affection, and once more bade defiance to the vengeance of Heaven." Smollett.

NOTE II. Page 109.

VARIOUS European bards have essayed, more or less successfully, to wake, or at least to imitate, the lyre of the Indian Muse. The songs of Outalissi, in Campbell's *Gertrude of Wyoming*, will outlast all the genuine productions of Indian poets, and probably the Indian race itself. Of these European compositions, the best (in point of fidelity to Indian sentiment and character) that I have ever met with is a little German poem of Schiller, of which I have been furnished with the following English version by my friend, Sir John Herschel. It is entitled,

THE DEATH-SONG OF A NADOWESSEE¹ CHIEF.

See, where upon the mat he sits
Erect before his door,
With just the same majestic air
That once in life he wore.

But where is fled his strength of limb,
The whirlwind of his breath,
To the Great Spirit when he sent
The peace-pipe's mounting wreath ?

Where are those falcon eyes, which late
Along the plain could trace,
Along the grass's dewy wave,
The reindeer's printed pace ?

Those legs, which once with matchless speed
Flew through the drifted snow,
Surpassed the stag's unwearied course,
Outran the mountain roe ?

Those arms, once used with might and main
The stubborn bow to twang ?
See, see, their nerves are slack at last,
All motionless they hang.

'T is well with him, for he is gone
Where snow no more is found,
Where the gay thorn's perpetual bloom
Decks all the fields around ;

Where wild birds sing from every spray,
Where deer come sweeping by,
Where fish, from every lake, afford
A plentiful supply.

With spirits now he feasts above,
And leaves us here alone
To celebrate his valiant deeds
And round his grave to moan.

¹ Of this tribe some notice occurs in Carver's *Travels in North America*.

Sound the death-song, bring forth the gifts,
 The last gifts of the dead, —
 Let all which yet may yield him joy
 Within his grave be laid.
 The hatchet place beneath his head,
 Still red with hostile blood;
 And add, because the way is long,
 The bear's fat limbs for food.
 The scalping-knife beside him lay,
 With paints of gorgeous dye,
 That in the land of souls his form
 May shine triumphantly.

Very similar to the foregoing effusion is an Indian declamation in honor of a dead chief, preserved in Davis's *Travels in America*.

NOTE III. Page 155.

THE French traveller Volney, in his *View of the United States*, thus contrasts the English, German, and Dutch colonists of America with those of French extraction.

"The settler of British or German descent is of a cold and phlegmatic temper, and deliberately forms a plan of husbandry which he steadily pursues. He attends sedulously to every thing that can influence the success of his projects. He never becomes idle, till his end is accomplished, and he has put his affairs on a good footing.

"The impetuosity of the Frenchman leads him to embrace precipitately any plausible or flattering project, and he proceeds in his career without laboriously computing expenses and contingencies. With more genius for his portion, he laughs at the dulness and caution of his Dutch and English neighbour, whom he stigmatizes as an ox; but his neighbour will sedately and wisely reply, that the patient ox will plough much better than the mettlesome racer. And, in truth, the Frenchman's fire easily slackens, his patience is worn out, and, after changing, correcting, and altering his plans, he finally abandons his project in despair.

"His neighbour is in no haste to rise in the morning, but, when fairly up, he applies steadily to work. At breakfast he gives cold and laconic orders to his wife, who obeys them without contradiction or demur. Weather permitting, he goes to plough or chop wood; if the weather be bad, he prosecutes his in-door tasks, looks over the contents of his house and granary, repairs his doors or windows, drives pegs or nails, makes chairs or tables, and is always busied in rendering his habitation more comfortable and secure. With these habits, he is nowise averse to sell his farm for a good price, and remove, even in old age, still farther into the forest, cheerfully recommencing all the labors of a new settlement. There

will he spend years in felling trees, building a hut and a barn, and in fencing and sowing his fields. His wife, as placid and patient as himself, will second all his labors; and they will sometimes pass six months together, without seeing the face of a stranger. In four or five years, comfort, convenience, and ease will grow up around them, and a competence will reward their solitary toils.

"The Frenchman, on the contrary, will be up betimes, for the pleasure of surveying and talking over matters with his wife, whose counsel he demands. Their constant agreement would be quite a miracle; the wife dissents, argues, and wrangles, and the husband has his own way or gives up to her, and is irritated and disheartened. Home, perhaps, grows irksome; so he takes his gun, and goes a shooting, or a travelling, or to chat with a neighbour. If he stay at home, he either whiles away the hours in good-humored talk, or he scolds and quarrels. Neighbours interchange visits; for to visit and talk are so necessary to a Frenchman, that, along the frontiers of Canada and Louisiana, there is nowhere a settler of that nation to be found, but within sight or reach of some other. On asking how far off the remotest settler was, I have been told, 'He is in the woods with the bears, and with nobody to talk to.'

"This temper is the most characteristic difference between the two nations; and the more I reflect upon this subject, the firmer is my persuasion, that the Americans and the northern Europeans, from whom they are descended, chiefly owe their success in arts and commerce to habitual taciturnity. In silence they collect, arrange, and digest their thoughts, and have leisure to calculate the future; they acquire habits of clear thinking and accurate expression; and hence there is more decision in their conduct, both in public and domestic exigencies; and they at once see the way to their point more clearly and pursue it more directly.

"On the contrary, the Frenchman's ideas evaporate in ceaseless chat; he exposes himself to bickering and contradiction; stimulates the garrulity of his wife and sisters; involves himself in quarrels with his neighbours; and finds, in the end, that his life has been squandered away without use or benefit."

Volney would have found an appropriate text to the foregoing discourse in this sentence of Solomon:—"In all labor there is profit; but the talk of the lips tendeth only to penury."

NOTE IV. Page 196.

THE following extracts from the first part of John Wesley's *Journal* illustrate the manners of himself and some of his fellow-passengers.

"Now we begin to be a little regular. Our common way of

living was this. From four of the morning till five, each of us used private prayer. From five to seven, we read the Bible together, carefully comparing it (that we might not lean to our own understandings) with the writings of the earliest ages. At seven, we breakfast. At eight, were the public prayers. From nine to twelve, I usually learned German, and M. Delamotte, Greek; my brother writ sermons, and Mr. Ingham instructed the children. At twelve, we met to give an account to one another of what we had done since our last meeting, and what we designed to do before our next. About one, we dined. The time from dinner to four we spent in reading to those of whom each of us had taken charge, or in speaking to them severally, as need required. At four, were the evening prayers, — when either the second lesson was explained, or the children were catechized and instructed before the congregation. From five to six, we again used private prayer. From six to seven, I read in our cabin to two or three of the English passengers, and each of my brethren to a few more in theirs. At seven, I joined with the Germans in their public service; while Mr. Ingham was reading between the decks to as many as desired to hear. At eight, we met again to exhort and instruct one another. Between nine and ten, we went to bed, where neither the roaring of the sea, nor the motion of the ship, could take away the refreshing sleep which God gave us."

Having described a storm at sea, and condemned himself as unfit, because he found himself unwilling, to die, he thus alludes to the more lively and triumphant faith of the Moravians:—"I had long before observed the great seriousness of their behaviour. Of their humility they had given a continual proof, by performing those servile offices for the other passengers, which none of the English would undertake; for which they desired and would receive no pay, saying, 'It was good for their proud hearts,' and 'their Saviour had done more for them.' And every day had given them occasion of showing a meekness which no injury could move. If they were pushed, struck, or thrown down, they rose again and went away; but no complaint was found in their mouth. There was now an opportunity of trying whether they were delivered from the spirit of fear, as well as from that of pride, anger, and revenge. In the midst of the psalm wherewith their service began, the sea broke over us, split the mainsail in pieces, covered the ship, and poured in between the decks, as if the great deep had already swallowed us up. A terrible screaming began among the English. The Germans calmly sung on. I asked one of them afterwards, 'Was you not afraid?' He answered, 'I thank God, no.' I asked, 'But were not your women and children afraid?' He replied mildly, 'No; our women and children are not afraid to die.'" At the time when the danger seemed most imminent, and the vessel was expected immediately to founder, an infant was brought to Wesley to be baptized. "It put me in mind," he says, "of Jeremiah's buying the

field when the Chaldeans were on the point of destroying Jerusalem, and seemed a pledge of the mercy God designed to show us, even in the land of the living."

Of the manners of the Germans in Georgia Wesley subsequently gives this representation:—"They were always employed, always cheerful themselves, and in good-humor with one another." He adds:—"They met this day to consult concerning the affairs of their church; Mr. Spangenberg being shortly to go to Pennsylvania, and Bishop Nitschman to return to Germany. After several hours spent in conference and prayer, they proceeded to the election and ordination of a bishop. The great simplicity as well as solemnity of the whole almost made me forget the seventeen hundred years between, and imagine myself in one of those assemblies where form and state were not, but Paul the tent-maker or Peter the fisherman presided, yet with the demonstration of the Spirit and of power."

NOTE V. Page 209.

"If the reigns of many European proprietors of slaves," says Dr. Moore, the traveller and novelist, "were faithfully recorded, it is much to be feared that the capricious cruelties which disgrace those of Caligula and Nero would not seem so incredible as they now do." Charles Wesley, who visited South Carolina, on his return from Georgia, in the year 1736, inserts the following remarks in his *Journal*:—"I had observed much and heard more of the cruelty of masters towards their negroes; but now I received an authentic account of some horrid instances thereof. I saw, myself, that the giving a slave to a child of its own age, to tyrannize over, to abuse and beat out of sport, was a common practice; nor is it strange, that, being thus trained up in cruelty, they should afterwards arrive at such perfection in it." After describing various modes of penal torture that were inflicted on the slaves, and even talked of with indifference by many of the planters, Charles Wesley adds:—"Another much applauded punishment is drawing the teeth of their slaves. It is universally known here that Colonel Lynch cut off the legs of a poor negro, and that he kills several of them every year by his barbarities. It were endless to recount all the shocking instances of diabolical cruelty, which these men, as they call themselves, daily practise upon their fellow-creatures, and that upon the most trivial occasions. I shall only mention one more, related to me by an eyewitness. Mr. Hill, a dancing-master in Charleston, whipped a female slave so long that she fell down at his feet, in appearance dead; when, by the help of a physician, she was so far recovered as to show some signs of life, he repeated the whipping with equal rigor, and concluded the punishment with dropping scald-

ing wax upon her flesh. Her crime was over-filling a tea-cup. These horrid cruelties are the less to be wondered at, because the law itself, in effect, countenances and allows them to kill their slaves, by the ridiculous penalty appointed for it. The penalty is about seven pounds, — one half of which is usually remitted, if the criminal inform against himself." MS. *Journal of C. Wesley*.

Hewit has drawn a melancholy picture of the general treatment of slaves in South Carolina at this period. Extreme and even wanton cruelty was ordinarily inflicted on them. The slaves of humane masters were often worse treated than others, for they were abandoned to overseers. Numbers skulked in the woods, where they were hunted and shot like wild beasts. The planters withheld from them all moral and religious instruction; declaring that negroes were an inferior race of beings, far below the intellectual stature of white men. They indulged their ostentation in maintaining a numerous retinue of domestic slaves; and nothing was more common than for guests at banquets to declaim upon the brutality and treachery of the race to which the sable attendants standing by and hearing the discourse belonged. Yet Hewit extols the general benevolence and humanity of that generation of the planters of Carolina. It was unfortunate for many of them that they had suddenly attained great wealth, and that the insolent and imperious temper incident to rapid prosperity was not mitigated by a liberal education.

After the American Revolution, the farther importation of negroes into South Carolina was forbidden by law; and the proportions between the freemen and the slaves underwent a change highly promotive of the security and the humanity of the one and of the comfort and consideration enjoyed by the other. Indeed, a law to the same effect had been enacted by the assembly of South Carolina several years before the Revolution; but it was disallowed by the royal governor, as contrary to the policy and injurious to the trade of Great Britain.

Traces of the cruelty with which slaves were anciently treated in South Carolina have lingered, it must be confessed, till a very late period, both in the laws of this province and the manners of its inhabitants. During this nineteenth century, slaves were doomed to be burned alive for murder, burglary, or fire-raising. In the year 1808, two negroes were actually burned alive over a slow fire in the market-place of Charleston. Bristed's *America and her Resources*. "The grand jury of Charleston, for the term of January, 1816, reported, as a most serious evil, that instances of negro homicide were common within the city for many years; the parties exercising unlimited control as masters and mistresses, indulging their cruel passions in the barbarous treatment of slaves," &c., &c., "and thereby bringing on the community, the state, and the city the contumely and reproach of the civilized world." Warden. They who entertain such a sense of the evil will, it may be hoped, in time find a remedy for it.

We have seen the British found and rear a settlement of free negroes at Sierra Leone, the very spot, where, two centuries before, they first participated in the slave-trade. And, more recently, we have beheld the Americans transport to the settlement of Liberia, in Africa, the emancipated descendants of those negroes whom their ancestors had procured as slaves from the African shore. Absurd and delusive, indeed, has this latter experiment proved.

What strange inconsistencies may coexist with even the worst evils of slavery is strikingly displayed in the life of that distinguished Roman who united all the abstractions and refinements of the Pythagorean philosophy with the most odious inhumanity to his slaves. Plutarch's *Life of Marcus Cato*. According to Aulus Gellius, Plutarch himself could insult with philosophical discourse the slave whom he was causing to writhe under the torture of the lash. But none of the truly great men of North America have been either severe or even willing slave-masters. Washington, writing to his friends Morris and Mercer, in 1786, protested that he would never again purchase a slave, and that he ardently desired the abolition of negro slavery. Patrick Henry and Jefferson, as we have seen, entertained the same views and sentiments. Franklin attacked the system of negro slavery by an ironical defence of the practice of Christian slavery in Morocco. During the Revolutionary War, John Jay declared, that, "Till America embrace this measure [abolition of slavery] her prayers to Heaven for liberty will be impious." Some of the most distinguished champions of the Revolution emancipated their slaves by testamentary bequest, — as Judith, the deliverer of Israel, prior to her death, "made her maid free."

NOTE VI. Page 230.

THE following description of a Georgian planter's method of life occurs in the *American Museum for 1790*.

"About six in the morning, he quits his bed and orders his horse to be got ready; he then swallows a dram of bitters to prevent the ill effects of the early fogs, and sets out upon the tour of his plantation. In this route he takes an opportunity to stop at the negro-houses, and if he sees any lurking about home, whose business it is to be in the field, he immediately inquires the cause. If no sufficient cause be given, he applies his rattan whip to the shoulders of the slave, and obliges him instantly to decamp. If sickness be alleged, the negro is immediately shut up in the sick-house, bled, purged, and kept on low diet, till he either dies or gets into a way of recovery. After having examined the overseer relative to the welfare of the poultry, hogs, cattle, &c., he proceeds round the farm, takes a cursory view of the rice, corn, or indigo fields, and examines into the state of the fences

and other inclosures. About the hour of eight, his circuit is finished, when, before he alights at his own door, a tribe of young negroes in the primitive state of nakedness rush out to meet him and receive the horse.

"Breakfast being over, he again mounts a fresh horse, and rides to the county-town or the first public-house in the neighbourhood, where he talks politics, inquires the price of produce, makes bargains, plays a game at all-fours, or appoints days for horse-races or boxing-matches. About four o'clock, he returns, bringing with him some friends or acquaintances to dinner. If the company be lively or agreeable, he rarely rises from table before sunset. If it be a wet evening, or the weather be very disagreeable, cards or conversation employ him till bed-time. If it be fair and no moonlight, after an early supper, a fire is kindled in a pan, and two or three of them set out, stored with some bottles of brandy, preceded by a negro who carries the fire, in order to shoot deer in the woods; as those creatures are so attracted by a light, that they constantly stand still and fix their eyes upon the blaze, by the reflection of which from the eyeball they are easily discovered and shot.

"About midnight, they return, according to luck, with or without game; their shins and faces sadly scratched, and themselves fit for nothing but to be put to bed. This is the general routine of existence among such of the Georgians as live in the more retired and woody parts of the State. Others have their weekly societies for sentimental and colloquial amusement. As to trade and business, it is entirely managed by overseers and factors." Winterbotham.

NOTE VII. Page 253.

SOME readers, unacquainted with Brainerd's *Journal*, may be gratified by the following extracts from it, illustrative of his ministrations among the Indians.

"I explained the story of the rich man and Lazarus, Luke xvi., 19. The word made powerful impression upon many, especially while I discoursed of the blessedness of Lazarus in Abraham's bosom. This, I could perceive, affected them much more than what I spoke of the rich man's torments. And thus it has been usually with them. They have appeared much more affected with the comfortable than the dreadful truths of God's word." "There were sundry Indians newly come here, who had frequently lived among Quakers, and, being more civilized than the generality of the Indians, they had imbibed some of the Quakers' principles, especially this, — that, if men would but live according to the dictates of their own consciences (or the *light within*), there is no doubt of their salvation. These persons I found much worse to deal

with than those who are wholly under Pagan darkness, who make no pretences to knowledge in Christianity, nor have any self-righteous foundation to stand upon. However, they all, except one, appeared now convinced that this was not sufficient to salvation, since Christ himself had so declared in the case of the young man." "An Indian woman came to me, discovering an unusual joy in her countenance; and when I inquired the reason of it, she replied, *that God had made her feel that it was right for him to do as he pleased with all things.*" An Indian conjuror, having been converted, declared that he felt that some mysterious power which he formerly possessed had now wholly departed from him. "Another old Indian having threatened to bewitch me and my people, this man presently challenged him to do his worst, telling him that he himself had been an eminent conjuror, and that notwithstanding, as soon as he felt the word of God in his heart, his power of conjuring immediately left him." "It is worthy of remark, that numbers of these people are brought to a strict compliance with the rules of morality and sobriety, and to a conscientious performance of the external duties of Christianity, without having them frequently inculcated, or the contrary vices particularly exposed. God was pleased to give the grand gospel truths of the total depravity of human nature, and the glory and sufficiency of the remedy provided in Christ, such an influence on their minds, that their lives were quickly reformed, without my spending time in repeated harangues upon external duties." "When these truths were felt at heart, there was no vice unreformed, no external duty neglected. Drunkenness, the darling vice, was broken off, and scarce an instance of it known for months together. The reformation was general, and all springing from the internal influence of divine truths upon their hearts; not because they had heard particular vices specifically exposed and repeatedly spoken against. So that happy experience, as well as the word of God, and the example of Christ and his apostles, have taught me that the preaching which is suited to awaken in mankind a lively apprehension of their depravity and misery, to excite them earnestly to seek after a change of heart, and to fly for refuge to Christ as the only hope set before them, is likely to be most successful toward the reformation of their external conduct. I have found that close addresses, and solemn applications of divine truths to the conscience, strike death to the root of all vice; while smooth and plausible harangues upon moral virtues and external duties, at best, do no more than lop off the branches of corruption."

NOTE VIII. Page 255.

CICERO inculcated the same maxim, though he was unable to illustrate its efficacy with equal patience and detail. "*Non intelligunt homines,*" says the Roman orator, "*quantum vectigal est parsimonia.*"

Franklin's lessons of parsimony have been severely censured by some writers, who charge him with teaching mankind to consider the replenishment of their purses as the chief end of their being. This censure, though exaggerated, is not entirely without foundation. Economy or parsimony, like the string of a necklace, derives a value more important than its own intrinsic worth from the objects with which it is subserviently connected. It is difficult to panegyricize one virtue, without bestowing disproportioned praise on it; and Franklin, in his eagerness to withstand the pernicious influence of prodigality, seems at times to have forgotten that avarice is also an infirmity of human nature.

Even in America, neither the genius nor the character of Franklin has commanded unanimous praise. He is characterized by a late American writer, as "a singular composition of formal gayety, of sprightly gravity, of grave wit, of borrowed learning, of vicious morality, of patriotic treachery, of political folly, of casuistical sagacity, and republican voluptuousness." Marshall's *History of Kentucky*. Of some of these expressions I am unable to divine the meaning. In one sense, all learning *must* be borrowed. Of plagiarism, or affectation in the display of his learning (except, perhaps, his familiarity with the French language, which was the acquisition of his old age), Franklin cannot be justly accused. His theoretical morality was not vicious. It was very refined and elevated; though devoid of the dignity of religious origin, and of the authority of religious motive. His practical morality was neither lofty nor pure. In his *Memoirs* he represents himself as a fugitive in early life from his family,—the infidel son of pious parents,—the subverter of the faith of his friends and associates,—and regardless of virtue and honor in his intercourse with women. He married a woman whom he had previously deserted, after gaining her affections, and who, in the interval, had become the wife of another man, of whose death neither Franklin nor she possessed any assurance. Doubtless he confesses his faults,—but with little more penitence than we find in the *Confessions* of Rousseau. His embezzlement of the money intrusted to his keeping by a friend, though corrected as far as possible by subsequent restitution, yet, as being an *untradesmanlike* action, seems to have given him more concern than the irreparable injury he did to the faith and morals of several young men, his companions. His complaints in old age of the ingratitude of his country, and the inadequate recompense he received from it for services which had gained him immortal fame, are unworthy of his character and genius. Before he stooped to so mean a strain, he

had depressed his view to the contemplation and calculation of the pecuniary value of his exertions. Many persons have read his *Memoirs*, without being aware that the son to whom they are addressed was not his legitimate offspring.

One of the finest tributes that Franklin's fame has ever received was rendered by the printers of Nantes, in the year 1790, when, assembling in consequence of the intelligence of his death, they (among other expressions honorable to his memory) embraced by unanimous vote a resolve, that, as Franklin had never printed an obscene or immoral line, so they, in admiring respect and extension of such example, would rather destroy their types and printing-presses than ever prostitute them to applications unfriendly to the worth and welfare of the human race. Camille Mellinets's *Commune et Milice de Nantes*, Vol. VI.

It is remarkable that Franklin, the strenuous advocate of parsimony in the reward of public services, and who even maintained that the chief officers of a commonwealth ought to serve their country gratuitously, should have distinguished himself above all his countrymen by the bitterness with which he lamented and condemned the inadequate remuneration of his own services. So difficult is it for any man, whether in sentiment or in action, to treat others altogether as he would have others treat himself. Whether America be really a loser by her parsimony in rewarding public services is a question which it is much easier to discuss ingeniously than to solve satisfactorily. Men of talent, and of enlarged rather than elevated minds, must ever feel themselves interested in maintaining the affirmative. Certainly (in theory, at least) the American principle of remuneration tends to exalt virtue above mere talent, and to purify the desire of fame. On this subject, an interesting statistical work of an American writer presents the following observations: — "One important cause of the stability and peace of this State (Connecticut) is, that the salaries annexed to all public offices are small. Various causes have united in producing this fact. The inhabitants were at first few and poor, and unable to give any other. When the salaries were enlarged to their present standard, they were worth three times their present value. Now they are quite inadequate to the decent support of those who receive them. After they were once established, there were always reasons which could be conveniently alleged against increasing them. To refuse voting for the expenditure of public money is always the road to popularity for little men; and there are always men of a secondary standing in society, who hope, that, when offices are cheap, they may fall to themselves, because they will be declined by their superiors. There is, however, a share of wisdom in this scheme. Whenever public offices are attended with great emoluments, they are coveted by every man of ambition, avarice, or pleasure. The sight of the prize rouses in every such man an energy which is excessive, and but too commonly able to compass its object. In the early and

sound periods of their republic, the Romans pursued the same policy as the Americans. Their public offices were accompanied by small emoluments. The reward held out to the candidate was the esteem of the community. This was a prize whose value could be comprehended only by good sense and worth." Dwight.

It has been said, and doubtless with some truth, that republics are ungrateful. Whoever honestly serves a republic devotes himself to the welfare of mankind, and ought to have declined the service, if, in addition to the happiness of coöperating with great and generous designs, he cannot be contented with the gratitude and esteem of the candid, the wise, and the good. Sallust (*Bell. Jugurthin.*) applauds the republican policy of cherishing a more earnest remembrance of injuries than of benefits. Valerius Maximus (*Lib. V., Cap. 3*) apologizes for it, and contends that public is less blamable than private ingratitude. The people of free states, always prone to suspect their conspicuous fellow-citizens of *encroaching ambition*, easily conceive jealousy, even of their acknowledged benefactors, scan the career of public officers with a vigilance of observation little akin to benignity, and gladly reduce and beat down every aspiring pretension to superior merit and national gratitude. The Athenians sickened of the unceasing praise of Aristides; and the Parisians experienced a similar corruption of sentiment from the hyperbolical panegyric with which Mirabeau and his associates, with diabolical ingenuity, overloaded the character of La Fayette.

NOTE IX. Page 318.

"THE most remarkable circumstance attending the progress of this bill, which made its way through both houses and obtained the royal assent, was the number of contradictory petitions in favor and in prejudice of it, while it remained under consideration. The tanners of leather in and about the town of Sheffield, in Yorkshire, represented, that, if the bill should pass, the English iron would be undersold; consequently a great number of furnaces and forges would be discontinued; in that case, the woods used for fuel would stand uncut, and the tanners be deprived of oak bark sufficient for the continuance and support of their occupation. They, nevertheless, owned, that, should the duty be removed from pig-iron only, no such consequences could be apprehended; because, should the number of furnaces be lessened, that of forges would be increased. This was likewise the plea urged in divers remonstrances by masters of iron-works, gentlemen, and freeholders, who had tracts of woodland in their possession. The owners, proprietors, and farmers of furnaces and iron-forges belonging to Sheffield and its neighbourhood enlarged upon the great expense they had incurred in erect-

ing and supporting iron-works, by means of which great numbers of his Majesty's subjects were comfortably supported. They expressed apprehension, that, should the bill pass into a law, it could not in any degree lessen the consumption of Swedish iron, which was used for purposes which neither the American nor British iron would answer; but that the proposed encouragement, considering the plenty and cheapness of wood in America, would enable the colonies to undersell the British iron, a branch of traffic which would be totally destroyed, to the ruin of many thousand laborers, who would be compelled to seek their livelihood in foreign countries. They likewise suggested, that, if all the iron manufacturers of Great Britain should be obliged to depend upon a supply of iron from the plantations, which must ever be rendered precarious by the hazard of the seas and the enemy, the manufacture would probably decay for want of materials, and many thousand families be reduced to want and misery. On the other hand, the ironmongers and smiths belonging to the flourishing town of Birmingham, in Warwickshire, presented a petition, declaring that the bill would be of great benefit to the trade of the nation, as it would enable the colonists to make larger returns of their own produce, and encourage them to take a greater quantity of the British manufactures. They affirmed that all the iron-works in the island of Great Britain did not supply half the quantity of that metal sufficient to carry on the manufacture; that, if this deficiency could be supplied from the colonies in America, the importation from Sweden would cease, and considerable sums of money be saved to the nation. They observed that the importation of iron from America could no more affect the iron-works and freeholders of the kingdom, than the like quantity imported from any other country; but they prayed that the people of America might be restrained from erecting slitting or rolling-mills, or forges for plating iron, as they would interfere with the manufactures of Great Britain.

"Many remonstrances to the same effect were presented from different parts of the kingdom; and it appeared, upon the most exact inquiry, that the encouragement of American iron would prove extremely beneficial to the kingdom, as it had been found, upon trial, applicable to all the uses of Swedish iron, and as good in every respect as the produce of that country." Smollett.

NOTE X. Page 327.

In the year 1749, a singular congregation of scattered members of the human race was occasioned in North America by the missionary labors of the Moravians. "In the summer of this year," says the historian of New Jersey, "three natives of Greenland

passed through the province, dressed in seal-skins with the hair on, after the manner of their own country. They consisted of two young men and a young woman converted to the Christian religion by the Moravian missionaries. They had left Greenland about two years before in a Moravian ship (which carried a house ready-framed for worship to be erected there, that country affording no wood for building), and had since visited the brethren in several parts of Europe, as England, Holland, and Germany. Their eyes and hair were black, like the Indians here; but their complexion somewhat lighter. Two Indian converts from the Moravian mission at Berbice, near Surinam, were also with them. They went together to the Moravian settlement at Bethlehem, in Pennsylvania, where they met with some Delaware and Mohican Indians, converts also of the Moravians; and though their native lands are so vastly remote as the latitude of $5^{\circ} 41'$ and 65° North, yet what they observed of each other's eyes, hair, and complexion convinced them that they were all of the same race. They could find, however, no similitude in their several languages." S. Smith. Kalm notices the meeting of these three races, and adds, "I had no opportunity of seeing them; but all those who had seen them, and whom I conversed with, thought that they had plainly perceived a similarity in their features and shape; the Greenlanders being only somewhat smaller. They concluded from hence, that all these three kinds of Americans were the posterity of one and the same descendant of Noah, or that they were perhaps yet more nearly related."

NOTE XI. Page 338.

"VERMONT has been settled entirely from the other States of New England. The inhabitants have of course the New England character, with no other difference but what is accidental. In the formation of colonies, those who are first inclined to emigrate are usually such as have met with difficulties at home. These are commonly joined by persons who, having large families and small farms, are induced, for the sake of settling their children comfortably, to seek for new and cheaper lands. To both are always added the discontented, the enterprising, the ambitious, and the covetous. Many of the first, and some of all these classes, are found in every new American country, within ten years after its settlement has commenced. From this period, kindred, friendship, and former neighbourhood prompt others to follow them. Others still are allured by the prospect of gain presented in every new country to the sagacious, from the purchase and sale of lands; while not a small number are influenced by the brilliant stories which everywhere are told concerning most tracts during the early

progress of their settlement. A considerable part of all who *begin* the cultivation of the wilderness may be denominated foresters or pioneers. The business of these persons is no other than to cut down trees, build log-houses, lay open forested grounds to cultivation, and prepare the way for those who come after them. These men cannot live in regular society. They are impatient of the restraints of law, religion, and morality; grumble against the taxes by which rulers, ministers, and schoolmasters are supported; and complain incessantly as well as bitterly of the extortions of mechanics, farmers, merchants, and physicians, to whom they are always indebted." "In the wilderness to which they have retreated, they must either work or starve. They accordingly cut down some trees, and *girdle* others; they furnish themselves with an ill-built log-house and a worse barn; and reduce a part of the forest into fields half-inclosed and half-cultivated. On the scanty provision thus afforded they feed a few cattle, with which, and the supplemental produce of the chase, they contrive to keep their families alive.

"A farm thus far cleared promises immediate subsistence to a better husbandman, who is induced to purchase it by the little advantages which have already been imparted to it, though he would not plant himself in an absolute wilderness. The proprietor is always ready to sell; for he loves this irregular, adventurous, half-working, and half-lounging life; and hates the sober industry and prudent economy by which his bush-pasture might be changed into a farm, and himself raised by thrift to independence. Receiving for his improvements more money than he ever before possessed, and a price for the soil somewhat enhanced by surrounding settlements, he willingly quits his house to build another like it, and his farm, to girdle trees, hunt, and saunter in another place." "The second proprietor is commonly a farmer; and, with an industry and spirit deserving no small commendation, changes the desert into a fruitful field. This change is accomplished much more rapidly in some places than in others; as various causes, often accidental, operate. In some instances, a settlement is begun by farmers, and assumes the aspect of regular society from its commencement. This, to some extent, is always the fact. Yet the foresters constitute a part, and frequently the majority, of the original inhabitants of every new settlement."¹

¹ I have taken some liberty (as little as possible) with the language of this author, which, in spite of his sense, talent, and learning, is invariably prolix, and frequently quaint, vulgar, and indistinct. Dwight possessed all the strong corporate feelings and prejudices, which, in Europe, are so frequently attached to the professional scholar and divine; and viewed with little indulgence a state of society, in which, from the first, a fixed and liberal provision was not made for clergymen and schoolmasters. How different his representation of the *backwoodsmen* of the British settlements from that of Volney! — which, notwithstanding, he eagerly transcribes, in another portion of his work, and proudly appeals to, as a confession of the moral superiority of his countrymen to the colonial progeny of France. Williams, the historian of Vermont, thus

"In a political view, the emigration of these foresters is of very serious utility to the ancient settlements. All countries contain restless inhabitants; men impatient of labor, and readier to contract debts than to pay them; who would rather talk than work; whose vanity persuades them that they are wise, and prevents them from discovering that they are fools; who have nothing to lose, and therefore expect to be gainers by every scramble, and, of course, spend their lives in disturbing others, with the hope of gaining something for themselves. Under despotic governments, they are awed into quiet; but in every free community, they create, to a greater or less extent, continual turmoil, and have often subverted the peace, liberty, and happiness of their fellow-citizens. In the Roman commonwealth, as before in the republics of Greece, they were emptied out, as soldiers, upon the surrounding countries, and left the sober inhabitants in comparative quiet at home."

"The institutions and the habits of New England, more, I suspect, than of any other country, have prevented or kept down this noxious disposition; but they cannot entirely prevent either its existence or its effects. In mercy, therefore, to the sober, industrious, and well disposed inhabitants, Providence has opened in the vast western wilderness a retreat sufficiently alluring to draw them away from the land of their nativity."

"It is, however, to be observed, that a considerable number even of these people become sober, industrious citizens, merely by the acquisition of property. The love of property, to a certain degree, seems indispensable to the existence of sound morals. I have never had a servant in whom I could confide, except such as were desirous to earn and preserve money. The conveniences and the character attendant on the possession of property fix even these restless men at times, when they find themselves really able to accumulate it, and persuade them to a course of regular industry. I have mentioned that they sell the soil of their first farms at an enhanced price; and that they gain for their improvements on them what, to themselves at least, is a considerable sum. The possession of this money removes, perhaps for the first time, the despair of acquiring property, and awakens the hope and the wish to acquire more. The secure possession of property demands every moment the hedge of law, and reconciles a man, originally lawless, to the restraints of government. Thus situated, he sees that reputation also is within his reach. Ambition prompts him to aim at it, and

celebrates the dignity of that condition of life by which the colonization of this province has been extended:—"Mathematicians have measured and settled the bounds of the solar system; but the new settler has, in fact, enlarged the bounds of the habitable creation. The philosophers have expanded our minds with the ideas and evidence that other planets are inhabited; but the simple and honest farmer has made the earth a place for more inhabitants than it ever had before. And while the astronomers are so justly celebrating the discoveries and the new planet of Herschel, all mankind should rejoice that the peasant in the wilderness has found out a way to make our planet bear more men."

compels him to a life of sobriety and decency. That his children may obtain this advantage, he is obliged to send them to school, and to unite with those around him in supporting a schoolmaster. His neighbours are disposed to build a church and settle a minister. A regard to his own character, to the character and feelings of his family, and very often to the solicitations of his wife, prompts him to contribute to both these objects. When they are compassed, he is induced by the same motives to attend the public worship of God, and, in the end, perhaps, becomes a truly religious man." *Dwight's Travels.*

NOTE XII. Page 348.

COLLINSON was particularly distinguished by his warm regard for the Americans, and his anxious desire to illustrate their attainments and promote their improvement. "Perhaps in some future period," says his biographer, "the account which Collinson procured of the management of sheep in Spain, with respect to their migrations from the mountains to the plains, and back from the plains to the mountains, may not be considered among the least of the benefits that have accrued from his extensive and inquisitive correspondence. When America is better peopled, the mountainous parts more habitable, the plains unloaded of their vast forests, and cultivated, the finest sheep in the world may possibly cover the plains of Carolina, Georgia, and East and West Florida, in the winter months, and retreat to the mountains as the summer heats increase and dry up the herbage." *Annual Register for 1776.*

NOTE XIII. Page 379.

FRANKLIN retained a parental partiality for his plan, notwithstanding the unanimous disapprobation with which it was rejected by his countrymen, and even after the issue of the American Revolution might have tempted him to rejoice that it had not been adopted. His expressions on this subject are remarkable. "The different and contrary reasons of dislike to my plan," says he, "make me suspect that it was really the true medium; and I am still of opinion, it would have been happy for both sides, if it had been adopted. The colonics, so united, would have been sufficiently strong to have defended themselves; there would then have been no need of troops from England; of course, the subsequent pretext for taxing America, and the bloody contest it occasioned, would have been avoided." *Memoirs, Part II.*

NOTE XIV. Page 403.

"HENDRICK had lived to this day with singular honor, and died fighting with a spirit not to be excelled. He was at this time from sixty to sixty-five years of age. His head was covered with white locks, and, what is uncommon among Indians, he was corpulent. Immediately before Colonel Williams began his march, he mounted a stage and harangued his people. He had a strong, masculine voice, and, it was thought, might be distinctly heard at the distance of half a mile; a fact, which, to my own view, has diffused a new degree of probability over Homer's representations of the effects produced by the speeches and shouts of his heroes. Lieutenant-Colonel Pomroy, who was present, and heard this effusion of Indian eloquence, told me, that, although he did not understand a word of the language, yet such was the animation of Hendrick, the fire of his eye, the force of his gesture, the strength of his emphasis, the apparent propriety of the inflexions of his voice, and the natural appearance of his whole manner, that himself was more deeply affected with this speech than with any other which he had ever heard. In the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, September 25, 1755, he is styled 'the famous Hendrick, a renowned Indian warrior among the Mohawks'; and it is said that his son, being told that his father was killed, giving the usual Indian groan upon such occasions, and suddenly putting his hand on his left breast, swore that his father was still alive in that place, and that here stood his son." Dwight's *Travels*.

NOTE XV. Page 410.

"OUR answers, as well as his (Morris's) messages, were often tart, and sometimes indecently abusive; and, as he knew I wrote for the assembly, one might have imagined that when we met we could hardly avoid cutting throats. But he was so good-natured a man, that no personal difference between him and me was occasioned by the contest; and we often dined together. One afternoon, in the height of this public quarrel, we met in the street. 'Franklin,' said he, 'you must go home with me and spend the evening; I am to have some company you will like'; and, taking me by the arm, led me to his house. In gay conversation over our wine, after supper, he told us jokingly, that he much admired the idea of Sancho Panza, who, when it was proposed to give him a government, requested it might be a government of blacks; as then, if he could not agree with his people, he might sell them. One of his friends who sat next me said, 'Franklin, why do you continue to side with

those d—d Quakers? Had you not better *sell* them?’ ‘The governor,’ said I, ‘has not yet *blacked* them enough.’” Franklin’s *Memoirs*. “Morris had been trained to disputation from his boyhood; his father, as I have heard, accustoming his children to dispute with one another for his diversion, while sitting at table after dinner. But I think the practice was not wise; for, in the course of my observation, these disputing, contradicting, and confuting people are generally unfortunate in their affairs.” *Ibid.*

NOTE XVI. Page 413.

WE have already adverted to the differences of opinion which existed among the Quakers themselves with regard to the legitimacy of defensive war, and which, slumbering in seasons of peace, have been always developed by the approach of danger and hostility. I knew a Quaker captain of a trading-ship, who was excommunicated by his fellow-sectaries in Shields, for carrying guns in his vessel during war. He was subsequently taken prisoner by the French, after an obstinate engagement at sea. On the restoration of peace, he contrived by stratagem to obtain readmission into a Quaker society at London, without professing penitence for the fault which had occasioned his expulsion from the brotherhood at Shields. So far was he, indeed, from cherishing any penitential sentiments on the subject, that he defended his conduct to me, and inveighed with some contempt and displeasure against the juggling hypocrisy of men who excommunicated their brethren for carrying arms in self-defence, and yet readily embraced the protection of convoy for their own vessels at sea, which he described as the universal practice of the Quakers. “I would rather,” said he, with more of the feelings of an Englishman than of a Quaker, “fight in defence of my own life and livelihood than hire others to fight for me.”

A remarkable, and, as far as I know, a solitary instance of offensive war, promoted and conducted by a Quaker, occurred in the beginning of the year 1758; when Thomas Cumming, a Quaker merchant of London, persuaded the British government to despatch an expedition, which he accompanied, for the reduction of the French settlements on the river Senegal. Cumming declared his aversion to bloodshed, and his conviction that the French would surrender, as they actually did, without obliging their invaders to resort to such extremity. Smollett. “On this occasion,” says Smollett, “Mr. Cumming may seem to have acted directly contrary to the tenets of his religious profession; but he ever declared to the ministry, that he was fully persuaded his schemes might be accomplished without the effusion of human blood; and that, if he thought otherwise, he would by no means have concerned himself about

them. He also desired, let the consequence be what it might, his brethren should not be chargeable with what was his own single act. If it was the first military scheme of any Quaker, let it be remembered it was also the first successful expedition of this war, and one of the first that ever was carried on according to the pacific system of the Quakers, without the loss of a drop of blood on either side."

"In 1745," said Dr. Johnson, "my friend, Tom Cumming, the Quaker, said he would not fight, but he would drive an ammunition cart; and we know that the Quakers have sent flannel waist-coats to our soldiers, to enable them to fight better." Boswell's *Life of Johnson*.

NOTE XVII. Page 416.

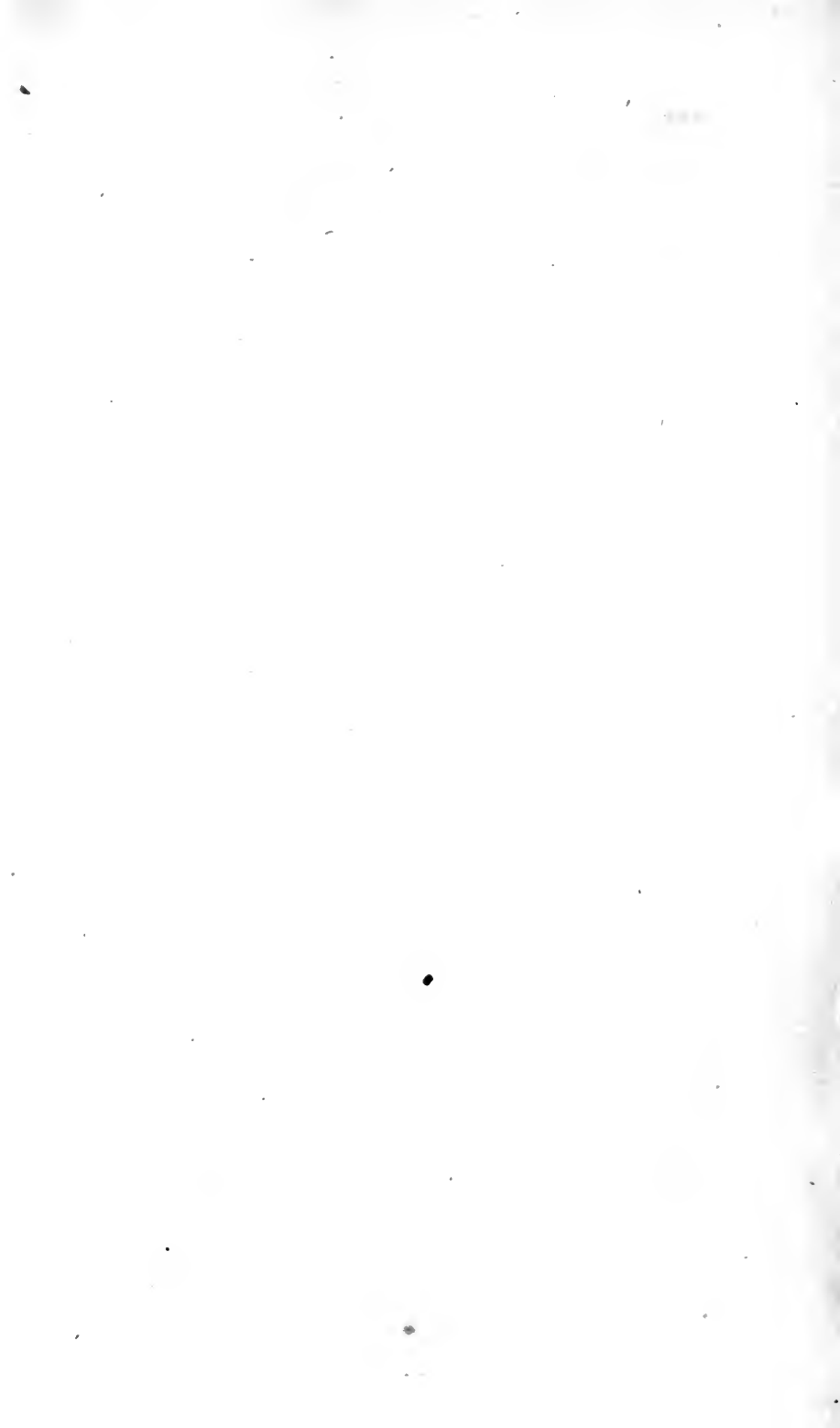
"It was urged in support of this act, that many of the foreigners settled in America had served in foreign countries, and acquired experience in the military profession; and that the soldiers who might enlist from this class of people could not be so well disciplined by any other persons as those who were acquainted with their language and manners.

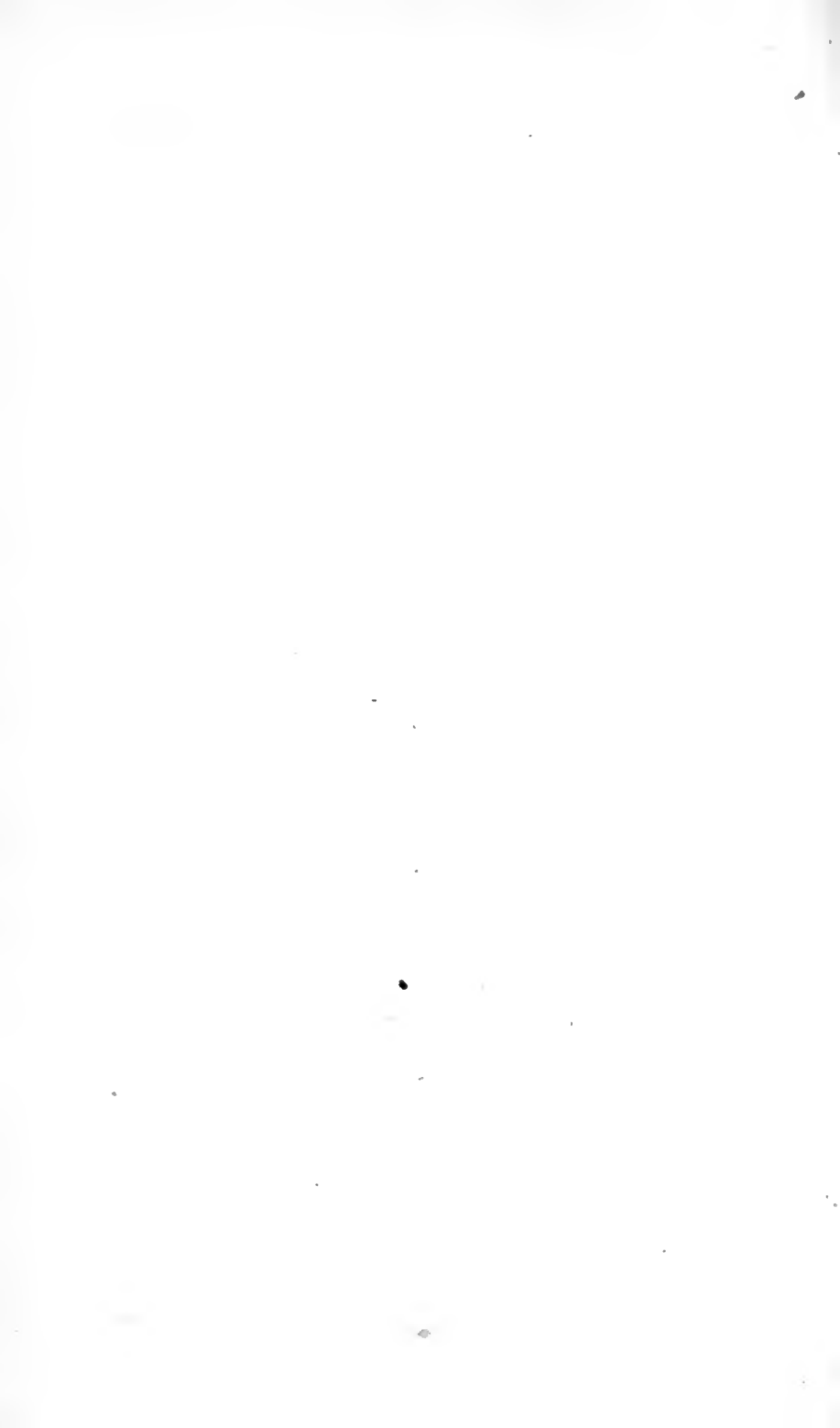
"A very zealous opposition was raised to the act by many respectable members of parliament; and the agent for the province of Massachusetts Bay joined them, petitioning the House of Lords to be heard against it. The reasons which they urged were, that the bill was inconsistent with the act for the farther settlement of the crown and better securing of the rights and liberties of the subject, which expressly provided that no foreigner, even although he should be naturalized or made a denizen, should be capable of enjoying any office or place of trust, civil or military; and this provision had been considered and revered as an essential and sacred part of the British constitution; — that the incorporating of these emigrants into a separate regiment [which was contemplated] would tend to keep up their ignorance of the English language, and of the laws, orders, and usages of the country, and prevent their uniting with the old subjects; — that many of the settlers, for the sake of whose services the employment of foreign officers was proposed, had not resided the full time requisite to entitle them to naturalization, and they would, without such residence, be improper persons to be made part of his Majesty's forces; — that the supposition, that these new subjects would be more easily induced than the native Americans to become part of his Majesty's standing forces, and that they would be particularly serviceable in garrison, was ill-founded; because the cheapness of land, the high price of labor, and the value of civil liberty, being the chief causes which prevented the Americans becoming soldiers for life or for any indefinite time, and the new subjects having come to the colonies with an intent to enjoy these

great advantages, it was probable that the same causes would produce the same effects upon their minds; or if any of them should be engaged in the service, it would probably be those who had no property, little industry, and whose motive for going to the war would be supplied by their idleness; — that such persons wanting the love which natural-born subjects have for their country, their fidelity would be proportionally insecure; and that they would be particularly unfit to garrison the forts upon the frontier, which were erected in parts remote from the English settlements, and intended to preserve and cultivate a good correspondence and promote a commerce with the several Indian nations which frequent them, and where all circumstances conspire to make it necessary that the garrisons, with every thing else, appear as much English as possible; — that the raising and disciplining a regiment in the colonies by foreign officers would be disagreeable to the colonies in general, and especially to those in which the chief strength of his Majesty's arms in America lay; to the officers at large in the provincial corps, as well as those who, after distinguishing themselves by their good behaviour, might derive the honor and favor of receiving those commissions which were proposed to be given to the foreigners; and to the main body of the Americans who were in arms, whose general sentiments concerning foreigners were such that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to reconcile their minds wholly to this measure." Minot.

Minot's *History of Massachusetts* (embracing the period from 1749 till 1764) is a performance creditable to the sense and talent of its author. But the style is frequently careless, and even slovenly and ungrammatical.

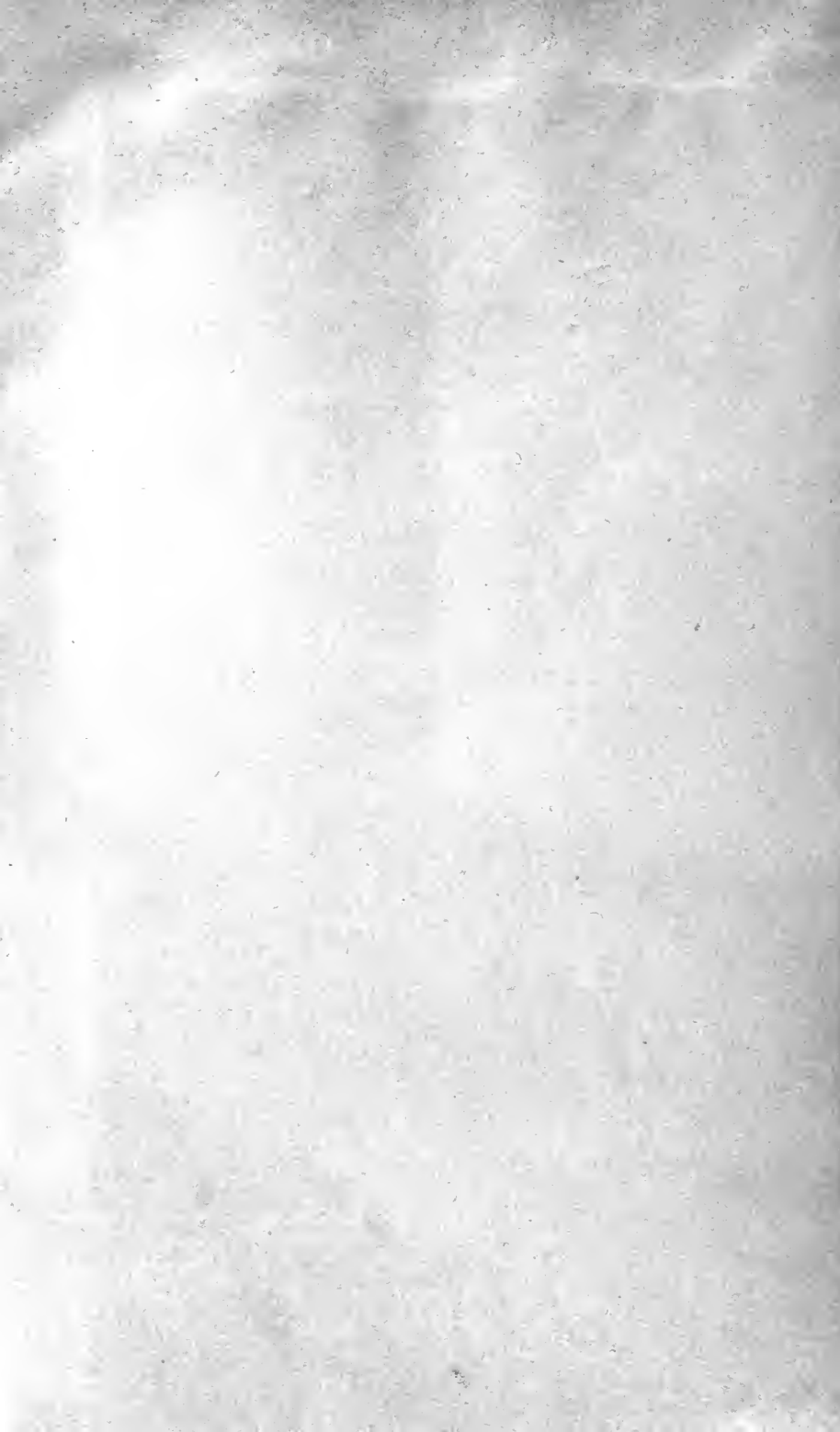
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